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Sixty-eighth year

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Monday, 13 May 2013, 10 a.m.
New York

President:	President Gnassingbé/Mr. Ohin	(Togo)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Zuain
	Australia	Mr. Quinlan
	Azerbaijan	Mr. Mehdiyev
	China	Mr. Li Baodong
	France	Mr. Araud
	Guatemala	Mr. Briz Gutiérrez
	Luxembourg	Mr. Asselborn
	Morocco	Mr. El Othmani
	Pakistan	Mr. Masood Khan
	Republic of Korea	Mr. Kim Kyou-hyun
	Russian Federation	Mr. Zagaynov
	Rwanda	Mr. Gasana
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Tatham
	United States of America	Ms. Rice

Agenda

Peace and security in Africa

The challenges of the fight against terrorism in Africa in the context of maintaining international peace and security

Letter dated 30 April 2013 from the Permanent Representative of Togo to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General (S/2013/264)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.10 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Peace and security in Africa

The challenges of the fight against terrorism in Africa in the context of maintaining international peace and security

Letter dated 30 April 2013 from the Permanent Representative of Togo to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General (S/2013/264)

The President (*spoke in French*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

I wish to draw the attention of the members of the Council to document S/2013/264, which contains the text of a letter dated 30 April 2013 from the Permanent Representative of Togo to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General, transmitting a concept note on the item under consideration.

I wish to warmly welcome the Secretary-General, the Ministers and the other representatives present in the Chamber. Their participation in this meeting is an affirmation of the importance of the subject matter under consideration.

In accordance with rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite the representatives of Algeria, Benin, Côte d'Ivoire, Ethiopia, Somalia, the Sudan and Tanzania to participate in this meeting.

Under rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite Mr. Abdullahi Shehu, Director General of the Integovernmental Action Group against Money Laundering in West Africa, to participate in this meeting.

Under rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite Mr. Téte António, Permanent Observer of the African Union to the United Nations, to participate in this meeting.

Under rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite Mr. Thomas Mayr-Harting, Head of the Delegation of the European Union to the United Nations, to participate in this meeting.

I recognize the presence of the Secretary-General, His Excellency Mr. Ban Ki-moon, and give him the floor.

The Secretary-General (*spoke in French*): I wish to thank the Togolese delegation, and in particular His Excellency Mr. Faure Essozimna Gnassingbé, President of the Togolese Republic, for having organized this important meeting.

Terrorism is a threat to peace, security and development in Africa. From Al-Shabaab in the east, to Boko Haram in the west, to Al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb in the north, extremist groups and terrorist entities have entrenched their presence in several parts of the continent. In Somalia, significant progress has been made towards restoring stability since Al-Shabaab was expelled from several strategic locations.

However, if we are to consolidate these gains and prevent the resurgence of that group, much remains to be done with respect to the rule of law, development and the political transformation of the country. The new United Nations Mission in Somalia will contribute to the Federal Government by providing strategic guidance in the reform of the security sector and by helping it to strengthen the police, judicial and prison systems.

In recent months, the international community has resolutely faced the rapid deterioration of the situation In Mali and the Sahel in general. The Security Council is not unaware that we have deployed a peacekeeping operation mandated with assisting the Malian transitional authorities in extending the authority of the State and in building instruments of legitimate governance. The Mission will operate in conjunction with the action taken to fight the insurgency in a new geopolitical situation that presents great challenges to the security and authority of United Nations peacekeeping, humanitarian and other personnel.

(*spoke in English*)

Military advances, important as they are, will not by themselves bring an end to terrorism in Africa. This struggle must go forward on many fronts, including by addressing the conditions that are conducive to the spread of terrorism. In the Sahel, for example, the United Nations is developing an integrated strategy that aims at enhancing governance and the rule of law, strengthening the capacity of national and regional security mechanisms, and integrating development

and humanitarian activities in order to build resilience. Without such a holistic and sustained approach we risk simply pushing the threat from one area to another.

Terrorism thrives where borders are weakest. Poorly guarded and stored ammunition stockpiles provide unfettered access to weapons, in particular the components for improvised explosive devices — the terrorist's frequent weapon of choice. The lack of development and the absence of the rule of law allow terrorist groups to recruit across communities and build their ranks. Opportunistic links between terrorist and transnational organized criminal groups ensure the constant flow of people, money, weapons and illicit goods across borders, contributing to the survival and proliferation of such groups.

In such a climate, the international community and the United Nations must do more to strengthen the capacities of affected Member States. Throughout Africa, United Nations missions are helping Governments to strengthen police and law enforcement, and to implement the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy. The Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force (CTITF) is active in West Africa, including in Nigeria and Burkina Faso. The CTITF is also involved in North Africa through the United Nations Centre for Counter-Terrorism, working on the issue of border management. In Central Africa, we are focusing on reducing the flow of small arms. In East Africa, the United Nations is facilitating the development of a regional strategy, and in southern Africa, where the threat of terrorism is less imminent, the United Nations is working with the African Union on the crucial issue of prevention.

The United Nations Mine Action Service is working with the African Union and countries across the continent on the safe management of munitions and the disposal of improvised explosive devices. The Counter-Terrorism Committee Executive Directorate continues to facilitate technical assistance and to help Member States in developing the right legislative tools.

I welcome the initiative undertaken by several regional and subregional organizations to formulate counter-terrorism strategies. These will help us to identify common threats and challenges, prioritize responses, strengthen collaboration, improve coordination and target international assistance to themes and areas where it is most needed. Our joint efforts must be carried out in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and international law, and with due respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

The United Nations is strongly committed to doing its part to combat terrorism in Africa. Success is crucial for enabling Africans to meet their aspirations to live in dignity and peace.

The President (*spoke in French*): I thank the Secretary-General for his statement and I welcome his commitment to bring the Organization into the fight against terrorism.

I now give the floor to Mr. Shehu.

Mr. Shehu: It is a great honour and privilege for me to be invited to this meeting of the Security Council specifically convened to discuss the issue of peace and security in Africa and the challenges of the fight against terrorism in the context of maintaining international peace and security. I am delighted to be given the opportunity to highlight the activities of the Intergovernmental Action Group against Money Laundering in West Africa (GIABA) in the context of promoting regional integration within the framework of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the implementation of the Financial Action Task Force (FATF) recommendations against money laundering and the financing of terrorists and proliferation, all within the Security Council's integrated approach to conflict prevention and the maintenance of international peace and security.

I would like to thank you in particular, Mr. President, for extending an invitation to me and to our regional body, GIABA, to contribute to this high-level discussion. The Action Group is a specialized institution of ECOWAS mandated to support member States in the prevention and control of transnational organized crime, in particular money laundering and the financing of terrorists and proliferation. Before giving a summary of the programmes and activities of GIABA in the discharge of its mandate, which is consistent with the Security Council's objective of promoting and maintaining international peace and security, permit me to briefly address the very pertinent theme of this debate, which is the issue of peace and security in Africa and the challenges of fighting terrorism.

Peace is not necessarily the absence of war; nor can we say that it is the size of weapon arsenals that determines security. Peace is the general condition

in which there is a sense of happiness or lack of fear about the conditions that create insecurity, including poverty, unemployment, economic development, good governance and the rule of law. We cannot fully understand the security situation in Africa without fully understanding the vulnerabilities and risk factors that engender conflict and instability. It has been estimated that no fewer than 28 sub-Saharan African States have been at war since 1980, with varying devastating consequences for the peace and security of the region. Many factors, including political corruption, a lack of respect for the rule of law, and human rights violations, account for most of the conflicts. The fragility of many African countries makes them vulnerable to conflict, mostly internally induced.

In West Africa, for example, about 60 per cent of the population is in the age bracket of 25 to 50 years. The population of about 380 million is estimated to increase by 52 per cent by the year 2030. The unemployment rate of the work-age population ranges between 30 and 50 per cent. The region had an average gross domestic product (GDP) of $17,519 as of 2009, excluding that of Nigeria, which is $6,699, and three fourths of the GDP is dependent on external trade, mostly primary commodities. The combined GDP of the 15 ECOWAS member countries does not equal the GDP of Saudi Arabia, Iran, Argentina or South Africa, taken individually. The United Nations Development Programme estimated that 12 out of the 15 ECOWAS countries, as of 2009, fell into the low human development group, with one having the lowest development index in the world. With an average growth rate of only 4.5 per cent per annum since 2000, it is difficult, if not impossible, to address the underlying conditions that fuel criminality in the region, including terrorism.

Added to that particular scenario, overall in Africa, the arms trade — both legitimate and illegitimate — has a significant impact on conflict and on conflict resolution. The five permanent members of the Security Council account for the largest official arms sales worldwide. Where conflicts are of an insurgency nature, multinational oil companies have been alleged to have exacerbated such conflicts — for example, in the Niger Delta of Nigeria — thereby creating a vicious cycle of instability. With all that, the number of refugees and people in refugee-like situations has remained alarming. The strength of the individual economies of nations in the developing world continues to be a significant factor in the timing of many arms-purchasing decisions. In some cases, increases in the price of oil, while an advantage for major oil-producing countries in funding their arms purchases, has simultaneously caused economic difficulties for many oil-consuming countries, contributing to their decisions to curtail or to find new types of weapons acquisitions.

On the side of capital, which is needed for sustainable development, in 2006 alone developing countries lost about $858.6 billion to $1.6 trillion in illicit financial flows. Out of that, Africa is estimated to have lost $854 billion from 1970 to 2008. Some estimate that the real figure is about $1.8 trillion. That is why the prevention of money laundering is crucial in the context of protecting the international financial system from abuse and of promoting international peace and security.

Terrorist acts are manifested in various dimensions, the patterns and locations of which depend on the ideology, intents and capabilities of the perpetrators. But the impact is widespread. While most terrorist activities have been driven by extremist and political motivations, we can only speculate what sort devastation might result if terrorists groups were driven by feelings of deprivation, hunger, poverty and unemployment. That might be even more difficult to control in a developing country. Despite that, most African countries are incapable of dealing with the problems in isolation, owing to the many challenges I shall discuss shortly. The challenges of fighting terrorism in Africa, despite the absence of a universally acceptable definition of terrorism, constitute the major threat to international peace and security. Many initiatives have been taken by the United Nations, particularly within the framework of maintaining international peace and security. Yet, the challenges of dealing with the problem remain. In Africa, as in other developing countries of the world, those challenges are reflected in various ways. The overall impact of the risk factors mentioned earlier, including poverty, unemployment, a lack of respect for the rule of law and human rights violations, collectively contributes to the rising level of terrorist activities and presents challenges to efforts to deal with the problem in the context of national and international security.

In addition, political corruption has led to the emergence of leaders who came to power through illegal means, including fraudulent elections, thus undermining their legitimacy to take practical and decisive actions against perpetrators of terrorist acts.

The overall weaknesses in the legal framework and institutional mechanisms for the prevention of terrorist acts, the inadequate skill and manpower for effective law enforcement, the insufficient resources and competing priorities for them, and the inadequate inter-agency cooperation within countries and internationally all contribute to the rising spate of terrorism.

It is crucial that any strategic approach to the prevention and control of terrorism also address the financing of terrorism. The challenges in that regard include the lack of a clear definition of the meaning of "terrorist funds and assets" in the legislation of some countries, notwithstanding the guidelines provided by the United Nations; the absence of designated authority for the enforcement of freezing measures, where they exist at all; the inadequate understanding of Security Council resolutions related to terrorism and terrorist and proliferation financing; the absence of policies or procedures for the effective dissemination of the lists of terrorists circulated by the United Nations committees among financial and non-financial institutions; the inadequate capacity at the national level to designate persons identified as terrorists and determine the procedure for freezing their assets; the lack of information on and/or proper understanding of the delisting process; and the lack of diligent investigation and prosecution, which hampers the speedy delivery of justice on the one hand, and makes for a very slow judicial process, on the other. These have led to a relatively low number of convictions.

Furthermore, there is the prevalence of corruption and the porosity of borders, which, as the Secretary-General pointed out, provide an environment conducive to international criminality; the backwash effects of globalization and internationalization, which afford criminals the economic space and technology to execute their transactions on a massive scale and almost without detection, against the limited capacity of competent law-enforcement authorities.

Let me briefly address the regional response to the threat of transnational organized crime, in particular terrorism, within the framework of ECOWAS. As part of their contribution to promoting peace and security in Africa and in fulfillment of their obligations under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, which requires mandatory enforcement of the decisions of the Security Council by States Members, the ECOWAS member States have adopted the following legal mechanisms at the regional level: the ECOWAS Convention on Mutual Legal Assistance in Criminal Matters; the ECOWAS Protocol Relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping and Security, which calls for the control of cross-border crime, including terrorism, the adoption of anti-corruption measures and the coordination of national policies for the maintenance of regional security; a cooperation agreement between member States' police forces on investigation in criminal matters; the adoption of the ECOWAS Convention on Small Arms and Light Weapons, their Ammunition and Other Related Materials; the adoption of a regional strategic framework for the prevention of terrorism in West Africa, during the most recent Summit of the Authority of Heads of State and Government of ECOWAS; and the establishment of GIABA.

The establishment of GIABA in 2000 by the Authority of Heads of State and Government of ECOWAS was a practical demonstration of the strong political commitment of ECOWAS member States to dealing with transnational organized crime in the context of maintaining international peace and security. GIABA is mandated to develop strategies and assist ECOWAS member States in preventing and controlling money-laundering and terrorist and proliferation financing. Over the past eight years of its operation, GIABA has formulated a clear vision for its action, an overall mission statement, and a set of core values to guide its commitment. The mandate of GIABA aims at promoting the rule of law, and one of its priorities is to assist member States in enacting legislation of acceptable international standards against terrorism. Seven years ago, only one or two countries had stand-alone legislation against money-laundering; but by 2008, all ECOWAS member States had enacted legislation criminalizing the laundering of the proceeds of crime. Although some of that legislation requires improvement to conform to acceptable standards, what has been accomplished indicates significant progress in the regional efforts to combat money-laundering.

On the financing of terrorism, GIABA designed, with the assistance of development partners, a model counter-financing of terrorism law, which was adopted by member States in June 2007. Currently, all ECOWAS member States except one have enacted legislation against the financing of terrorism. GIABA has thus been able to provide concrete assistance in a number of critical domains, such as the preparation of appropriate legislation and legal training; the establishment of a financial intelligence unit as a central authority for

the receipt, analysis and dissemination of intelligence on money-laundering, terrorist and proliferation financing; the provision of threat assessments and the determination of risk; the establishment of active committees to oversee anti-money-laundering activities and the counter-financing of terrorism; the conduct of special typologist exercises to determine the methods and means used in money-laundering and financing of terrorism; the provision of information on advocacy regarding the financing of terrorism; the monitoring and evaluation of terrorist financing-specific activities and systems; and support for investigative and prosecutorial capacity-building, as well as regional and international coordination.

Permit me, Sir, to look at the way forward. Achieving realistic peace and security in Africa within the context of promoting and maintaining international peace and security will require strategic partnerships. In the spirit of promoting such partnerships, the following fundamental principles for action will be crucial.

First, there is a need for stronger political commitment and leadership. The issue of political will in combating transnational organized crime has become a sort of cliché, giving the impression that one does not appreciate the commitment of another. That is far from the point. Political commitment and leadership, although very difficult to measure, are crucial for motivating the right actions towards conflict prevention and resolution as well as the maintenance of international peace and security.

Secondly, there is a need to establish an effective early warning mechanism for the prevention of conflict and terrorism. ECOWAS has set the pace at the regional level with its numerous initiatives, some of which have early dimensions.

Thirdly, building the capacity of States and supporting them in promoting the rule of law, democracy and good governance is essential to the prevention of conflict and the maintenance of international peace and security. Furthermore, the international community must ensure that legitimate structures are in place to promote democracy, good governance and accountability.

This brings me to the fourth issue — that of resources. We cannot achieve the goals of the Security Council without providing for technical assistance to developing countries. Indeed, it has been argued that addressing the specific conditions that give rise to terrorist acts, including poverty, injustice and inequality, can significantly ameliorate the problem. I cannot conclude, therefore, without a clarion call to donor agencies and countries to continue to provide the technical assistance necessary for implementing the Council's decisions and resolutions.

Fifthly, development assistance, although helpful, cannot adequately address the challenges facing developing countries in dealing with transnational security issues. We must therefore ensure that developing countries have equal trading opportunities with others in order to mitigate some of their economic difficulties.

Finally, there is the need to improve and sustain cooperation and coordination at the national, regional and international levels, including the involvement of civil society organizations and the private sector. No nation can effectively tackle the problem of terrorism in isolation. Collective security therefore lies in meaningful international cooperation.

The President (*spoke in French*): I thank Mr. Shehu for his very informative briefing, which clearly emphasizes that the response to terrorism cannot simply be a military one. Various factors must come together in order to end this genuine scourge.

I will now make a statement in my capacity as representative of Togo.

I would first like to welcome everyone, in particular the ministers who are participating in today's debate. Their presence reflects the attention that their countries attach to the issue of combating terrorism around the world and, more particularly, in Africa, as well as a demonstration of their determination to eradicate it. I would also like to thank the Secretary-General, not only for his statement on the subject under discussion but also for the activities he leads on behalf of our Organization to promote peace, security and stability wherever they are threatened, in Africa in particular.

Terrorism is a global phenomenon that requires a global response. It strikes hundreds of innocent people every day and casts a tragic shadow over entire populations. Today its spectre is haunting Africa. The Sahelo-Saharan Strip, which crosses Africa from east to west, is dealing with a mass of security challenges that include growing religious extremism, radical Islamism, terrorism, trafficking of all kinds — including in human beings, drugs and arms — organized crime, and so forth. This is indeed one of the most disturbing threats of our

time. Established in Mali, Nigeria, Somalia and other countries, terrorist groups, entrenched in the desert, are becoming more and more active. They sow their seeds in African countries whose low development levels constitute fertile soil for their activities, conducted against a background of tribal conflicts, porous borders and social problems.

Terrorism is the result of a confluence of political, security, economic, social and environmental factors interacting with one another. It is tied to poverty, weak governance and corruption, and thus to underdevelopment. It is particularly active in fragile States, countries in post-conflict situations where the absence of the rule of law and an administrative vacuum enable such groups to grow with complete impunity and to extend their influence over a powerless population with no hope for the future. In the areas where it establishes itself it eliminates any possibility of programmes for economic and social development. That situation enables such organizations to take over as de facto authorities that regulate the areas under their control and discourage foreign investment, which leads to the isolation, indeed the economic collapse of the States concerned. Economic activity, both legal commerce and illegal trafficking, and the movement of people, whether migrating native populations, tourist travel or non-governmental personnel, is entirely at their mercy. Thus Al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb now rules in the Sahel and has made it a fabulous gold mine for international hostage-taking, trafficking in cigarettes, drugs and arms, and money-laundering.

If African Governments are not given the means to conduct an effective and lasting anti-terrorist policy by depriving these groups of their armies, it is alarmingly possible that we could see them consolidating not just a terrorist arc stretching from Mauritania to Nigeria and extending as far as the Horn of Africa, but also developing a lawless area available to traffickers from around the world. For ties are being created between the drug traffickers in the Sahel and European mafias such as Italy's Camorra and Latin-American groups, which exchange experience and expertise with them.

It is clear that terrorism in Africa extends well beyond the African continent. The organized criminal activity there is constantly growing. The ports of West Africa and the Sahel have become hubs for drug trafficking networks, connecting suppliers of cocaine from Latin America and hashish from various African countries with markets in Europe and the Near East. Trafficking in immigrants ranges between 65,000 and 120,000 people a year; trafficking in light weapons is estimated at 8 million items a year, including 100,000 Kalashnikovs. Drugs from the Middle East and Latin America transit through the soft underbelly that is Africa via porous border before reaching Europe. The number of cocaine addicts in West Africa is now estimated at 1.5 million consumers.

It is therefore more than urgent that we find ways to curb this new wave of narco-terrorist criminals operating globally. How can we end this rampant scourge? Three avenues should be explored. First, only a multi-pronged response, no longer a strictly military one, as the speakers before me have emphasized, will enable us to contain narco-terrorist criminal groups. The United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy, adopted in 2006 and revisited in 2012, goes in that direction. It is essential to work on security issues together with development problems and issues around the promotion of human rights. It is also necessary to work upstream from terrorism on development, education and health programmes. It is only by ensuring the well-being of citizens and peoples, and of the poorest and weakest in particular, that they will be less receptive to extremist or violent ideologies. Only the promise of development and personal growth can compete with this sordid, murderous alternative.

The threat in the Sahel is not only military, Islamist and terrorist. It is also about food. Between the end of 2011 and the middle of 2012 the number of people dealing with food insecurity grew from 13 million to more than 18 million, of whom 8 million are facing a serious food crisis. Population movements inevitably worsen an already precarious situation. Increasing population losses, a lack of water and the loss of revenue are the key ingredients that can transform this humanitarian crisis into a truly political one, leading to renewed violence.

In Mali, for example, on the eve of the lean season, the food situation continues to worsen. According to United Nations agencies and specialized non-governmental organizations, one in five households is facing severe malnutrition. A vicious cycle threatens those populations, as they are easy to persuade and thus provide a continuous flow of recruits for terrorist groups seeking new blood.

Secondly, given the close links between terrorism and drug traffickers and other trafficking groups, it

is essential that we adopt a holistic approach to fight that phenomenon, as these elements are two facets of the same reality. While terrorism seeks to use violence against individuals or property to coerce or to intimidate States and societies in order to achieve political objectives — as is the case in certain countries, for instance Uganda, with the Lord's Resistance Army — it cannot be treated separately from organized crime, which is ultimately aimed at financial gain. Criminal groups are gradually transformed into hybrid groups, as is the case currently with the Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia. That group, which was based on a political ideology, has over time mutated into a criminal narco-terrorist group.

Similarly, the political and social demands made by Ansar Dine are facilitated by the availability of illicit sources of funding and cooperation with other movements, such as Boko Haram and the Mouvement pour l'unicité et le jihad en Afrique de l'Ouest (MUJAO).

According to the United States Drug Enforcement Agency, 60 per cent of terrorist groups are linked to narcotics trafficking, and 80 per cent of the Taliban are pursuing financial interests and not the desire to impose a religious doctrine. In the Sahel, a third of the jihadists are fighting to defend their ideology, while the remaining two-thirds pursue social or financial interests.

The response to these new forms of crime must be international. The international community needs to develop, in consultation with the countries concerned, a global strategy embodied in a number of long-term policy, diplomatic, socioeconomic and security initiatives. Such a strategy should seek to assist in improved governance, which should involve effective justice and the willingness to issue arrest warrants against those responsible for abuses. It should enhance the fight against youth unemployment, as highlighted by the Secretary-General and the Director General of the Intergovernmental Action Group against Money Laundering in West Africa. It should seek better control over conventional arms transfers to the continent's interior. Since the Arab spring, there has been a proliferation of small arms and light weapons. The transparency of any arms deal should be confirmed by a designated African authority.

The strategy should also seek to achieve better border control. Following the conflict in Mali, new transit routes for cocaine have already opened up in some countries of Central Africa, according to the French criminologist Xavier Raufer. The strategy must focus on the regional approach to mitigate the risk of terrorist migration, in particular in Mali because of Operation Serval. We must be aware that the war in Mali is not without consequences, and several West African capitals have been cited by the MUJAO as potential targets for attacks.

The strategy must further seek the greater involvement of the African continent in the international debate on terrorism and the global management of that scourge, as well as closer coordination between the African countries and between Africa and its international partners. The strategy must support the ownership of African countries and regional organizations in the fight against terrorism within their territory. In that respect, I commend the outstanding work by the African Union, which took a number of steps in the right direction at its ministerial meeting on 17 March, such as the strengthening of border security, exchanges of information and national capacity-building through experience sharing, training and equipment.

Thirdly, to implement those measures, it is urgent that the partner countries honour their commitments with respect to official development assistance. According to the most recent report of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development for 2012, official development assistance fell by 4 per cent in real terms between 2011 and 2012, after having fallen by 2 per cent in 2011. Total global official development assistance amounted to $125 billion in 2012, representing 0.29 per cent of the combined national wealth of the various donors, as compared to 0.31 per cent in 2011. That does not seem fair to me, since we know that poor countries are facing new challenges for which they are not necessarily responsible and which are clearly the result of the furious pace of industrialization by wealthy countries. I am thinking in particular of the devastating effects of climate change on our countries. Nevertheless, I would like to thank Denmark, Luxembourg, Norway, the Netherlands and Sweden for having met and sometimes even exceeded their official development assistance commitments.

The figures are sufficiently clear and speak for themselves. The challenges are immense and the financial needs considerable. As President Bouteflika said way back in 2002, the fight against poverty is perhaps the first essential element in the fight against terrorism, since while poverty is humanly and morally

unacceptable, it also destroys human virtues and the bases of social solidarity.

While I urgently appeal to all of our partner countries to make an effort in terms of official development assistance. However, we must also find other sources of funding. I am thinking in particular of the tax on international financial transactions. Its basic purpose was not to bridge the gaps created by banks in the partner countries but to uncover new resources for official development assistance. Eleven members of the European Union agreed to launch a tax on the Community's international financial transactions through strengthened cooperation, starting in February 2013. I welcome that measure, which will free up large amounts of funding, some of which, I hope, will be devoted to international aid. I would like to thank the President of the French Republic, who has committed here at the United Nations to devote 10 per cent of such assistance to development and the fight against health issues and pandemics.

Only subregional and international cooperation will allow us to fight criminal drug trafficking groups. Without the support of the international community, the African continent will not know how to defeat that scourge, which infects States, corrupts Governments and literally transforms people into the slaves of the twenty-first century. Only global governance — a world Government, as Jacques Attali of France says — developing effective policies would counterbalance the growing crime that all governments face.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

The Council has before it the text of a statement by the President on behalf of the Council on the subject of today's meeting. I thank Council members for their valuable contributions to this statement. In accordance with the understanding reached among the members of the Council, I shall take it that the members of the Security Council agree to the statement, which will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/2013/5.

It is so decided.

I shall now give the floor to the members of the Council.

Mr. Asselborn (Luxembourg) (*spoke in French*): I would like to thank you personally, Mr. President, and your country, Togo, for having organized under your presidency today's important debate on the challenges of the fight against terrorism in Africa in the context of maintaining international peace and security. I firmly believe that your statement is an important contribution, with respect both to its analytical portion and the ways to confront the scourge of terrorism that you have set out here. I would also like to thank the Secretary-General and the Director General of the Intergovernmental Action Group against Money Laundering in West Africa for their enlightening briefings.

Today's debate is timely. We are indeed concerned in two regards — first, because terrorism remains one of the most serious threats to international peace and security and, secondly, because terrorism has become, evermore markedly in recent years, a threat to peace and stability in a number of regions on the African continent.

The crisis in Mali and its ramifications throughout the Sahel and beyond illustrate in many ways the evermore complex challenges that the United Nations and its States Members have to face. The situation challenges all of us and makes us realize that the fight against terrorism is a long-term fight that will require the mobilization of considerable means, in terms of both security and development cooperation. The implementation of a global strategy is a necessity.

At the level of the United Nations, the Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy has expanded the framework of the fight against terrorism. Besides repressive and security measures, it comprises measures to ensure respect for international law, notably humanitarian law and human rights, as well as measures to avoid the creation of fertile ground for the propagation of terrorist ideology. The Strategy has the merit of combining security, rule of law, socioeconomic development, and protection and promotion of human rights aspects. It is now critical to comprehensively implement it at the regional level in Africa.

To counter the threat of Al-Qaida and its affiliates in West Africa, in particular in the Sahel region, the Security Council has adapted its response by sharpening the tools at its disposal, in particular sanctions, through the Committee established pursuant to resolutions 1267 (1999) and 1989 (2011). After the listing of Al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb in 2001, we welcome the extension of the Al-Qaida sanctions to the Movement for Unity and Jihad in West Africa in 2012 and to

Ansar Dine in 2013. We also have great expectations for the cooperation between the Al-Qaida Sanctions Committee and the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali, established by resolution 2100 (2013) on 25 April.

Given the vast scale of the terrorist threat, we must support African countries in strengthening their capacities. In that regard, we welcome the special meeting being organized this year by the Counter-Terrorism Committee under the chairmanship of Morocco on cooperation and technical assistance to States in the Sahel region, so as to strengthen their capacities in the fight against terrorism. In its national capacity, Luxembourg is working to contribute to African capacity-building in the fight against the financing of terrorism. We have therefore supported training implemented by the National Financial Intelligence Processing Unit in Senegal.

In the Sahel region, terrorism is a transnational phenomenon. It has been able to grow stronger through alliances with criminal networks in the region that are prospering thanks to the money made from human trafficking and the illicit trade in arms and drugs, as the President mentioned. That transnational threat requires a coordinated response at the international, regional and national levels. It is therefore important to strengthen cooperation between the United Nations, the African Union and subregional organizations and to make effective use of the mechanisms developed by African regional and subregional organizations.

To strengthen that cooperation, it is essential to establish regional strategies. Given the situation on the ground, Luxembourg believes it is more urgent than ever to finalize and implement the United Nations integrated regional strategy on the Sahel, which encompasses security, governance, development, human rights and humanitarian issues. In July 2012, the Security Council requested the Secretary-General to develop and implement that strategy in consultation with regional organizations. It should provide the Security Council and stakeholders in the region with a full array of tools for preventive action, including in the field of counter-terrorism. It must be finalized as soon as possible.

The terrorist threat cannot be eradicated by military means. It is therefore important to reinforce the civilian security dimension and better equip law enforcement agencies and justice institutions in dealing with terrorism. In parallel, it is necessary to work resolutely for socioeconomic development in order to remove the sources of frustration and exclusion that feed terrorism and its recruiting agents.

For two decades, Luxembourg has been developing a cooperation partnership with a number of countries in the West Africa region, in particular, Senegal, Mali, Burkina Faso and the Niger. In the context of that partnership, we are pursuing an integrated regional approach, which we hope will contribute to tackling the fundamental causes of conflicts and the roots of terrorism by focusing on the fight against poverty and on access to basic services, while striving to give hope to the younger generations by enabling them to find decent jobs.

The Horn of Africa is another region where we are seeking to contribute to the efforts to fight terrorism. Last week, I participated in the London Conference on Somalia, which is a country that has made considerable progress during the past year, but remains confronted by the formidable terrorist threat of Al-Shabaab. We are encouraged by the efforts undertaken and the results achieved in State-building and in the political process in Somalia. The security situation is improving, but the Somali authorities require our support in order to build and strengthen their State institutions in that field. To that end, Luxembourg took the opportunity of the London Conference to announce a new financial contribution of €500,000 for security sector reform in Somalia.

My country's commitment to Africa reflects our conviction that it is necessary to adopt a holistic approach that recognizes the intrinsic link between security and development, two objectives that can only be achieved through the respect for and protection of human rights and the rule of law, to echo a great African, Mr. Kofi Annan. The presidential statement (S/PRST/2013/5) prepared for today's debate reflects the need to adopt such an integrated approach in the fight against terrorism on the African continent. For that reason, Luxembourg fully supports it. May today's debate inspire us all to break the momentum of terrorism in Africa once and for all.

The President (*spoke in French*): I am of course in agreement with the analysis of the question just presented by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Luxembourg. I think we need a comprehensive approach, as he said. I would especially like to welcome his role in combating poverty through the actions that he indicated and encourage him to pursue that effort because the road is still long.

Mr. El Othmani (Morocco) (*spoke in Arabic*): At the outset, I would like to congratulate the President on his sisterly country's assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of May. I also wish to thank him for choosing an important subject, namely, combating terrorism in Africa in the context of the maintenance of international peace and security, as the central topic of Togo's presidency. By the same token, I should like to thank His Excellency the Secretary-General for his statement and to commend his ongoing commitment to fostering international and regional cooperation with a view to averting and combating security threats.

Our meeting today is being held at a delicate juncture, as the international community is preoccupied by the political transformations and security challenges witnessed by Africa. In addition to the consequences of those challenges at the local, regional and international levels, the recent developments and frequent incidents on that continent indicate that, despite the efforts made, those threats continue to loom over regional and international peace and security, leading to the suffering of millions of innocent civilians. Related alarming phenomena include the growing interconnection among terrorist groups, secessionist movements and criminal networks involved in the trafficking in persons, drugs and weapons, as well as in piracy and abduction.

That interconnection has enabled terrorist networks to acquire the financial and technological resources necessary to bolster their capacities and threaten, in some cases, the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, particularly in certain regions that face internal conflicts and socio-political difficulties. Morocco is in the forefront of those States that have for years expressed their deep concern at the terrorist activities and security threats in certain parts of our continent, particularly in the Sahel region, West Africa, the Gulf of Guinea and the Horn of Africa. The Security Council's response and those of regional organizations have had encouraging outcomes, and collective efforts have led to the dismantling of a number of criminal and terrorist networks.

Yet, those efforts remain insufficient and must be harmonized and coordinated, as those networks continue to expand to additional areas of our continent, adopting new methods and sophisticated techniques, particularly following the proliferation of weapons by the defunct Al-Qadhafi regime.

The ceaseless efforts deployed by the United Nations have been positive insofar as they have supported the African States in their combat against terrorism in all its forms and manifestations, in addition to promoting peace and security on the continent and strengthening the capacities of States in the field of technical assistance so as to face this looming threat. We look forward to the adoption of the United Nations Integrated Strategy on the Sahel and express our readiness to contribute effectively to its implementation and success.

Morocco has taken a firm stance against terrorism. It has adopted a national strategy in that respect that converges with the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy. The Kingdom's strategy reflects its commitment to the values of coexistence, human rights, fundamental freedoms and the rule of law.

I should like to take this opportunity to reiterate once again Morocco's categorical rejection of any connection between organized crime or terrorism with any religion, faith or ethnic group. Those phenomena by nature constitute a rejection of all religious, ethical and human values. We reiterate our support for all of the initiatives designed to foster dialogue and understanding among civilizations and cultures, respecting the characteristics of each one, as a positive response to attempts to fuel radicalization, hatred, exclusion and racism.

In that connection, we believe that the considerable success of the Moroccan counter-terrorism strategy is the result of its multidimensional and comprehensive approach, which includes preventive law-enforcement measures as well as its national initiatives that address the socioeconomic and cultural imbalances at the root of violent and extremist ideologies. The Kingdom will continue with that series of democratic reforms, with a focus on development in all its forms as a protection against the increase in violent ideologies and terrorism.

Morocco joined the Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force, whose five task forces have adopted multilateral mechanisms for joint action. In that respect, we appreciate the adoption of the Rabat Declaration on best practices in the field of criminal justice, which will promote the establishment of criminal justice mechanisms based on the rule of law and guarantee cooperation with regard to surrendering criminals and extending mutual legal assistance. Morocco, as usual, stands ready to share its national expertise and experience with African States in the

framework of a positive partnership aimed at facing the prevailing security threats.

Along with our commitment to enhancing security in Africa, for decades we have engaged in cooperation efforts with other African States to counter terrorism and transnational organized crime. We have taken many initiatives aimed at paving the way for cooperation and dialogue, including the Ministerial Conference of African-Atlantic States and the convening of the Conference of the Ministers of Justice of Francophone African Countries to combat terrorism.

At the humanitarian level, the initiatives taken by His Majesty King Mohammed VI of Morocco to increase the level of humanitarian assistance for refugees in the Sahelo-Sahara region, Malian refugees in neighbouring States and internally displaced persons in Mali are grounded in ethical values and are humanitarian endeavours aimed at alleviating their suffering and preventing their children from falling victim to criminality and terrorism.

Morocco has strengthened its cooperation with the Sahelo-Sahara States as well as of those the Maghreb Union, in the context of a decisive and participatory approach that is based on respect for the sovereignty of States and their territorial integrity, the principle of solidarity, the value of positive dialogue and the principle of the responsibility of all States.

In that connection, in cooperation with the United Nations, in March 2013 Morocco convened an international conference that brought together the Maghreb and Sahel States on cooperation in the field of border monitoring. Participants emphasized the need for active cooperation among United Nations, regional and subregional organizations on information exchange, expertise, best practices and training.

As Chair of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1373 (2001) concerning counter-terrorism (CTC), Morocco has conscientiously fostered the efforts of United Nations organs to counter terrorism, with a view to establishing coordinated and complementary regional and national counter-terrorism strategies. In that connection, we are extending further technical assistance to African States in legal affairs, capacity-building and information exchange. In the views of experts, all these areas represent basic priorities in the fight against the scourge.

From the African perspective, we express our gratitude to the CTC members for adopting our proposal to organize a meeting in the final quarter of the year on strengthening the counter-terrorism capacities of the Sahel States. In implementation of its full obligation to back international counter-terrorism efforts, Morocco will spare no effort in building a genuine partnership among African States with a view to fostering regional cooperation in complement to international efforts to combat security threats.

We are of the view that adopting appropriate integrated national strategies and guaranteeing their effectiveness will require seamless and regular regional and subregional cooperation in order to pave the way for a cooperative framework aimed at protecting peoples and homelands against security threats, particularly terrorism.

The President (*spoke in French*): I would like to thank His Majesty Mohammed VI and the Government of Morocco for their effective response strategy. We recall the attacks that we have all condemned, but I do believe that the strategy has been implemented and measures have been taken since then. For now, we can affirm that terrorism has been vanquished in that area. We also appreciate Morocco's willingness to cooperate with other States and to share its experience in order to enable them to combat terrorism.

Ms. Rice (United States of America): I thank you, Mr. President, for convening today's important meeting. I would also like to thank the Secretary-General and Mr. Shehu for their briefings. Although we are focusing today on terrorism in Africa, we recall the victims of terrorist attacks everywhere, as well as their families. From Karachi to Kano, Mogadishu to Benghazi and In Aminas, and from Baghdad to Boston, the thousands of lives lost and shattered remind us, tragically, that the scourge of terrorism affects us all and that combating it requires our shared determination and common efforts.

Terrorist groups continue to threaten peace, security and stability across Africa. In the Sahel, Al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) joined with mercenary fighters fleeing Libya to exploit the Tuareg rebellion and overrun the northern two-thirds of Mali. In Nigeria, Boko Haram and Ansaru are taking advantage of poor socioeconomic conditions and popular discontent to challenge State authorities and sow communal conflict. In Somalia, Al-Shabaab is still launching ferocious attacks on the Somali Government and people as it seeks to derail the country's transition.

As we saw just eight days ago in Arusha, Tanzania, terrorism is not confined to conflict zones, but can happen anywhere and at any time. Nevertheless, the fight against terrorism in Africa has made progress over the past year. Somalia and Mali show how international and regional cooperation in action can help to weaken terrorist groups that pose grave threats to entire nations.

In those cases, African nations, with critical support from the international community, have actively confronted terrorist threats. Working together, French, Chadian and Malian forces have taken on a growing terrorist haven in Mali. The Council imposed United Nations sanctions against the Movement for Unity and Jihad in West Africa, Ansar Dine and associated individuals in Mali, and authorized two successive missions to help stabilize the country. At the same time, the persistence and sacrifice of African Union peacekeepers, with international assistance, has helped Somalia start to reclaim its country from the brutal grip of Al-Shabaab.

Yet, Al-Qaida and affiliated groups remain dangerous, and are becoming more diffuse and entrepreneurial. With fragile new Governments in North Africa and unrest elsewhere on the continent, violent extremists have increasingly exploited porous borders, political vacuums, local grievances, socioeconomic stresses and diminished focus on counter-terrorism to pursue their deadly objectives.

Meanwhile, terrorists in Africa continue to fund their operations through illicit activities, while their tactics become more sophisticated. Transnational terrorists are trafficking weapons, drugs and even human beings to raise money for heinous attacks. We remain deeply concerned that AQIM and related groups are using kidnapping for ransom to finance terrorism. The international community cannot turn a blind eye to that crime and must stop paying ransoms. Furthermore, terrorist use of improvised explosive devices (IEDs) is on the rise in Africa, as Al-Shabaab's recent car-bombing of Somali Government and Qatari aid delegation members demonstrates. That troubling trend warrants increased Security Council attention, and we welcome opportunities to develop counter-IED initiatives with African and other partners.

The multifaceted threat of terrorism in Africa requires a multidimensional response. The United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy recognizes as much. A comprehensive approach not only involves tactical efforts and capacity-building to thwart attacks and degrade terrorist infrastructure, but also features strategic initiatives to reduce violent extremism and shrink the pipeline of terrorists.

The United States has therefore intensified capacity-building assistance to African partners. Our Trans-Sahara Counterterrorism Partnership and our Partnership for Regional East African Counter Terrorism programmes help African States to tighten border security, promote economic development, disrupt terrorist networks, prevent attacks and prosecute perpetrators. Over the past year, the United States has trained over 2,320 officials in 18 African countries, conducting law enforcement and rule of law activities. United States legal attachés and advisers are working with host country Governments in Mauritania, the Niger, Nigeria, Tunisia, Senegal and Algeria to strengthen justice-sector capacity to address terrorism.

In addition, to counter violent extremist propaganda online, the United States has established the Center for Strategic Counterterrorism Communications, which has supported citizen journalists in disseminating accurate, non-extremist information across northern Mali, and has funded projects in Nigeria and the Niger to highlight local stories of resilience in the face of terrorism.

We furthermore welcome the contributions that the Global Counter-Terrorism Forum, in partnership with the United Nations and the African Union, has made in addressing terrorism across the continent. The good practices memorandums of the Global Counter-Terrorism Forum on criminal justice, the rehabilitation and reintegration of violent extremists and the prevention of kidnapping for ransom by terrorists are practical tools for Governments to use in combatting terrorism within a rule-of-law framework. However, such guides are only as useful as the political will and capacity to implement them.

Building States' capacity to fight terrorists and enlisting communities in that fight remain indispensable, but we must be wary of repressive approaches, which often fuel the very radicalization that they seek to eliminate. Indeed, reducing the threat of terrorism in Africa demands a broader effort to create freer, more prosperous and tolerant societies in which radicalization is rare, opportunity is palpable and hope thrives. That requires fighting poverty and corruption. It requires expanding trade and investment and building critical infrastructure, so that African economies can grow sustainably. It requires effective

conflict prevention and resolution. It requires improving Governments' delivery of services to their peoples, from high-quality education to health care and justice, and it requires ensuring that people are able to hold their Governments accountable.

Through that framework and in partnership with the peoples and Governments of the continent, the United States is working to empower citizens, promote good governance, strengthen human rights and the rule of law and boost economic growth and development. In doing so, we remain mindful that no one nation can fight terrorism alone. We must work together as partners with shared commitment and mutual assistance to end that scourge. We owe nothing less to the legions of victims and to future generations.

Mr. Gasana (Rwanda) (*spoke in French*): At the outset, allow me to thank His Excellency Mr. Faure Essozimna Gnassingbé, President of the Togolese Republic, for his personal attendance at this Security Council debate on counter-terrorism in Africa in the context of peacebuilding and international security. I would also like to thank Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon for his attendance and Mr. Abdullahi Shehu, Director General of the Intergovernmental Action Group Against Money Laundering in West Africa, for his briefing.

Before I begin, I would like to condemn on behalf of my Government the terrorist attack that took place on Saturday in Reyhanli in southern Turkey, near the Syrian border, which cost the lives of at least 43 people and wounded 100. I offer the condolences of the Rwandan Government to the victims' families and to the Government and people of Turkey. We hope that justice will be done, and we express our deep concern with regard to the information that the attack might be linked to the Syrian crisis.

Rwanda concurs with the presidential statement (S/PRST/2013/5) that was just adopted. I would like to take this opportunity to thank you, Mr. President, for choosing the topic for today's meeting and statement, which shows Togo's commitment to peace and security on our continent. The theme chosen for the second Togolese presidency of the Security Council of your term is right in line with the theme chosen for Togo's first presidency in February 2012, "The impact of transnational organized crime on peace, security and stability in West Africa and the Sahel region".

Rwanda, a brotherly country of Togo, fully shares the concern for peace and security in Africa. That is why our country chose, for our presidency in April, to organize a briefing on the prevention of conflicts in Africa so as to tackle the root causes (see S/PV.6946). We would like to thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Togo for his attendance at the time. In fact, Africa will not be able to sustainably fight transnational crime and terrorism until the continent adopts an effective strategy to prevent conflicts in Africa by tackling their root causes.

The issue of terrorism, especially in Africa, is extremely complicated. It is true that terrorism and conflicts in Africa generally have the same underlying causes, but terrorism can also be both the cause and the effect of conflicts on the continent, as those conflicts can be fed by terrorism or can lead to terrorism. In fact, most of the underlying causes of conflict in Africa, considered by members of the Council during the April briefing, are also the causes of terrorism. I would note, in particular, the artificial delineation of borders, which is a legacy of colonialism and has engendered identity and nationality problems, porous borders, foreign interference, the lack of democracy and rule of law, corruption and poor governance, poverty and famine, as well as exclusion and discrimination based on race, ethnic group, religion and region of origin.

In addition to the fact that terrorism and conflict in Africa share the same deep-rooted causes, it is important to note that terrorism and conflict can also be the cause and effect of each other. In fact, it is quite obvious that conflicts in Africa can be a breeding ground for terrorism, which, as we all know, can only sustain itself and develop in conditions of chaos or in lawless areas. And it is no coincidence that terrorist groups regularly attack Blue Helmets and threaten troop-contributing countries. Along those lines, terrorism can also be a cause of conflict. In fact, repeated terrorist acts against religious, ethnic or racial communities is a source of exasperation, which can lead to intercommunity fighting. It is therefore very obvious that terrorism, which always goes hand in hand with all types of trafficking and transnational crime, should be a central concern in all thinking about conflict prevention in Africa.

Although terrorism can find its root causes in our society, there can be no excuses or justification based on extenuating circumstances for the perpetration of such acts. Poverty, unemployment, exclusion and the

corruption of some Governments do not necessarily lead to terrorism, in the sense that most of the victims of those scourges struggle peacefully as citizens every day to achieve a better future.

We need to tackle the underlying causes of terrorism by tackling those who decide to cross the Rubicon by breaking up families and terrorizing communities. In that connection, Rwanda wishes to recall the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy. We commend the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1373 (2001) concerning counter-terrorism, as well as the other committees established to fight terrorism, for their activities. We encourage them to strengthen their cooperation, in particular through the exchange of information on best practices, in order to ensure better coordination of international efforts to prevent and combat terrorism.

Rwanda also supports United Nations cooperation with regional organizations and subregional organizations. We welcome the work that has been done by the African Centre for Studies and Research on Terrorism, the objective of which is to strengthen the cooperation between African countries in the prevention of terrorism. In that regard, we also reaffirm that we are eagerly awaiting the launch of the integrated strategy on the Sahel, which we hope will help countries in the region to prevent and combat terrorism.

Rwanda reiterates its condemnation of Al-Shabaab in Somalia, Boko Haram in Nigeria, the Movement for Unity and Jihad in West Africa, the Al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb and all other terrorist organizations operating on the African continent.

However, in referencing the presidential statement that has just been adopted, Rwanda reaffirms that terrorism cannot and must not be associated with any one religion, nationality or civilization. We also regret the fact that the word "terrorism" is often used in conjunction with movements that have a particular affiliation and use their own particular methods.

We recall that the definition of terrorism is not limited to the use of explosives; it also extends to armed groups that commit mass atrocities, practice abduction, burn villages, and use rape as a weapon of war and terror. In that respect, I note that a genocidal group in Rwanda, the Armée pour la libération du Rwanda, was designated as a terrorist group before it changed its name, 12 years ago, to Forces démocratiques de libération du Rwanda. We call on the brotherly Congolese Government, the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the entire international community to redouble their efforts against that genocidal terrorist group, which is the main source of conflict in the eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo.

In conclusion, Sir, I again commend your personal commitment to fighting terrorism in Africa and the world. I pay a special tribute to all citizens and civil society organizations that fight terrorism every day around the world, at the risk of their lives or the lives of their members. We have an obligation to achieve results, and we hope that our collective efforts in the Security Council and elsewhere will ultimately rekindle hope for Africa and all communities living under the threat of terrorism.

Mr. Kim Kyou-hyun (Republic of Korea): I would like to begin by expressing my appreciation to you, Sir, for convening today's timely debate on the challenges faced in the fight against terrorism in Africa. I would also like to thank Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon for his comprehensive briefing, and Mr. Abdullahi Shehu of the Intergovernmental Action Group against Money Laundering in West Africa (GIABA) for his informative briefing.

Despite the concerted efforts of the international community over the past decade, terrorism remains a serious threat to peace and security in the Maghreb and the Sahel. If unchecked, the formation of the so-called arc of instability from Mali to Somalia may soon become irreversible, and transform the entire African continent into a breeding ground for extremists and a launchpad for larger-scale terrorist attacks around the world.

The Republic of Korea believes that efforts to prevent and combat terrorism will become much more effective with the adoption of a comprehensive approach. In this regard, we support the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy, which focuses on addressing each component of terrorism: terrorists, weapons, funding and networks.

The natural starting point is to tackle socioeconomic and environmental conditions, with a focus on youth and education. In this context, the Republic of Korea strongly supports the Secretary-General's global Education First Initiative. Human rights and the rule of law should be at the heart of global efforts to address the issue of terrorism.

Defending porous borders to deter the illicit flows of weapons in Africa is another important task, as is the prevention and interdiction of terrorist financing. In collaborating with the Financial Action Task Force, the role of GIABA is crucial in fostering closer military and intelligence cooperation among the countries of the region. These efforts require full ownership of the countries concerned in establishing good governance and promoting economic reforms, while designing and implementing a comprehensive counter-terrorism strategy. In this regard, the Republic of Korea commends the work done by the African Union in adopting its Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism of 1999, establishing the African Centre for Studies and Research on Terrorism based on its 2002 Plan of Action, and appointing its Special Representative for Counter-Terrorism Cooperation in October 2010.

Keenly mindful of such developments, the Republic of Korea has been actively participating in global efforts to prevent and combat terrorism in Africa. First, Korea is playing an active role in addressing the origins of terrorism, and seeks the socioeconomic development of its African partners through a variety of cooperative programmes. My Government has formulated an Action Plan for the Third Korea-Africa Forum for 2013-2015, which includes a whole range of assistance including human resource development.

Secondly, preventing the use of weapons of mass destruction for terrorism is another important task for the international community. As the Chair of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1540 (2004), the Republic of Korea will seek ways to mobilize relevant international assistance for African States within the Committee's mandate. We will also work together with the other counter-terrorism committees — namely, the Committee pursuant to resolutions 1267 (1999) and 1989 (2011) concerning Al-Qaida and associated individuals and entities, and the Counter-Terrorism Committee — to develop assistance packages to bolster African efforts to curb terrorism.

Thirdly, adapting to the terrorist threat in the digital age is essential. Taking advantage of the high connectivity made available by information technology, home-grown terrorists are learning to make bombs through the Internet and high-profile terrorists are recruiting members on Twitter. As the host of the Seoul Conference on Cyberspace 2013, which is to be held on 17 and 18 October, the Republic of Korea will scale up its efforts to address the new trend of exploiting information technology to incite, recruit, and finance terrorist activities and spread extremism.

As Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon stressed, terrorism has no nationality or religious affiliation and respects no borders. Our response, too, should reflect the amorphous and ubiquitous nature of terrorism today. As a Security Council member, the Republic of Korea will play its due part in promoting the Council's work to combat terrorism in Africa and beyond.

Mr. Zuain (Argentina) (*spoke in Spanish*): It is an honour and a privilege to have the President of the Republic of Togo guiding this debate. Your participation, Sir, and that of the Vice-Prime Minister of Luxembourg, several Ministers for Foreign Affairs, the representatives of Council members, and Mr. Abdullahi Shehu of the Integovernmental Action Group against Money Laundering in West Africa attest to the importance and timeliness of the proposed topic.

I also wish to thank the Secretary-General for his participation and informative briefing.

As we recognize in the presidential statement that we have just adopted (S/PRST/2013/5), terrorism continues to pose a serious threat to peace and security, the enjoyment of human rights, and the social and economic development of States. In the case of Africa in particular, terrorism undermines its stability and prosperity. This threat has become more diffuse and developed increasingly complex operational mechanisms in response to the growing vigilance of the international community. Acts of terrorism, including those motivated by intolerance and extremism of all stripes, are on the rise. Argentina condemns terrorism in all its forms and manifestations. At the same time, we are convinced that the general framework in which we seek any response to that situation must always include absolute respect for international law, international humanitarian law, international human rights law and be within the purposes and aims enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

The tragic Argentinian experience with State terrorism, which gave rise to massive and systematic human rights violations, has led us to develop State policies with regard to various aspects of human rights, in particular those related to memory, truth, justice and reparations, as well as to the gradual development of the right to truth.

Furthermore, Argentina has suffered directly from international terrorism, having been the victim of two very serious terrorists attacks in the city of Buenos Aires, one in 1992 against the Israeli Embassy and the other in 1994 against the headquarters of the Argentinian Israelite Mutual Association. That experience has reaffirmed our conviction that terrorism must be fought within the framework of the rule of law and with total respect for fundamental freedoms. We have no doubts in that regard, and that is why we firmly reject the idea that human rights violations are acceptable in certain circumstances.

Our country, in its fight against illicit trafficking and human trafficking and in the field of migration, has legislation and policies that do not criminalize or discriminate for any reason against immigrants. We recognize that migration is a human right. That still means that we must have an effective policy at the border so as to control illicit trafficking in drugs and weapons. We have made progress in establishing solid normative frameworks and public policies, which have led to certain achievements. We have also developed regional strategies at the level of the Common Market of the South (MERCOSUR) and the Union of South American Nations, because we understand that the efforts of national States are essential. The commitment of the region and of the international community is also crucial.

Terrorism cannot be dissociated from the growing complexity of the international reality, and that is why it is crucial that its complexity be approached within the framework of a comprehensive multilateral effort based on coordination and cooperation between States in order to effectively prevent and combat the scourge. The fight against terrorism requires, first of all, a firm commitment on the part of every State to combat terrorist acts at the national level, to not provide assistance to the perpetrators of or participants in activities related to terrorism, and to strengthen national legislation that promotes the prosecution or extradition of terrorists.

In addition, at the global level within the framework of the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy, a comprehensive approach to the matter would strengthen joint efforts, with regard to the conditions that lead to the spread of terrorism and its financing. Terrorist acts cannot be justified by religious or ethnic differences, nor by economic circumstances. Nonetheless, tolerance and the operation of the rule of law with full social inclusion and dignified work provide an environment that would help prevent the spread of terrorism and help us to combat it. Behind every terrorist act there is usually a problem of cultural, political, social, ethnic or religious marginalization, often with a fundamentalist component, the growth of which over time offers fertile ground for the development of terrorism.

Furthermore, in the case of Africa, as we see in the presidential statement adopted today(S/PRST/2013/5), terrorism endangers the efforts of African States to promote economic and social development. The countries of the region need to dedicate resources to development without being forced to divert them to the fight against terrorism. In that regard, the situation in the Sahel region is very telling. On the one hand, in order to have development, we need to have basic security and stability without the threat of terrorism. At the same time, however, in order to achieve minimum stability, we need a comprehensive and integrated approach. In that regard, I welcome the comments made by the Secretary-General, who referred to the need to have a comprehensive United Nations strategy for the Sahel region that would encompass security, governance, development and respect for human rights, as well as humanitarian issues.

We need coordinated action between States in the region, which would make it possible to tackle the activities of terrorist groups, such as Al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb, the Movement for Unity and Jihad in West Africa, and Ansar Dine, and to fight illicit drug trafficking as well as trafficking in small arms and light weapons. The extensive land and sea borders are a particular challenge for us in fighting against the activities of such groups, which highlights the need for support from the international community for national capacity-building.

There is also great concern over the repeated attacks that have taken place in some African countries, including those that have targeted United Nations offices, such as the August 2011 against the United Nations Office in Abuja. In particular, when it comes to the trafficking in small arms and light weapons, we understand that the Arms Trade Treaty, adopted by the General Assembly on 2 April, could make an important contribution to preventing the diversion of weapons towards such terrorist groups.

In Africa, as in many other regions of the world, the fight against terrorism requires structural changes

that would bring an end to poverty, exclusion and marginalization, factors that are conducive to the development of terrorism. We need cooperation and coordination from the international community in order to tackle the problem. We also need a global economic system that is based on equity, which would provide responses to many of the deep-rooted causes of the scourge. Likewise, as we also see in the presidential statement, the efforts of the international community to combat terrorism must be complemented by efforts at the regional and subregional levels, as well as those of specialized agencies, to promote cooperation in matters of global interest. Every region and subregion has its particularities, and, as in many other issues, when it comes to terrorism, subregional and regional cooperation is a crucial element in providing a comprehensive and broad response to that scourge.

In the case of our region, through the Inter-American Committee against Terrorism, we have developed several programmes to exchange information and best practices in the area. Likewise, in MERCOSUR, through a specialized counter-terrorism forum, information is exchanged on legislation, control measures and the harmonization of standards so as to enable better coordination in the countries of the subregion.

In the African continent, Argentina supports the steps taken by African countries at the national and regional levels to combat terrorism. In that regard, we reaffirm the need to work jointly with the African Union to implement cooperation.

Within a broader framework, but still closely related to the situation in the African continent, we believe that peacekeeping operations are not an effective tool in the fight against terrorism. The use of force in an offensive fashion would go against the three essential principles of peacekeeping, namely, the consent of the parties, impartiality and the use of force only in self-defence or for the purposes of the mandate. Furthermore, we understand that allowing peacekeeping operations to use force offensively with a view to combatting the actions of terrorist elements could transform the United Nations into a participant in an asymmetrical internal conflict, undermining the Organization's legitimacy and endangering its personnel working on humanitarian issues, in development and in human rights protection. In any case, the inclusion of the peacemaking dimension in peacekeeping operations requires thorough discussion and responsibility.

For Argentina, it is clear that the issue requires a comprehensive debate, where all of the Members of the United Nations would participate and where we could assess the elements that the Organization would need in order to tackle such situations.

Within the framework of the Council, African issues are the ones that take up most of our analysis and discussion. Generally speaking, we tend to focus on conflict situations and other aspects that are not so positive. Nevertheless, Argentina is convinced that much progress has been achieved by African States, the African Union and other subregional organizations in conflict-prevention, peacebuilding and peacekeeping. Africa has also made progress when it comes to promoting and protecting human rights, in strengthening democracy, the rule of law and the constitutional order. Argentina strongly supports this process, and we offer all of our experience of recent years and our cooperation in combating this scourge.

In the same sense, we believe it important to identify the prevailing challenges facing Africa in the fight against terrorism. At the same time, we recognize the broad progress that has been made, including the large number of ratifications of international counter-terrorism instruments, the adoption of legislation on terrorist financing, the progress made on border control, the increased cooperation and coordination among the States in the region, and progress in upholding human rights in the fight against terrorism.

Important progress has been made, but there are still a number of challenges in the fight ahead, both in Africa and at the international level. Solidarity and cooperation in the context of full respect for the sovereignty of States remain our best tools.

Mr. Zagaynov (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): Let me thank the Togolese presidency for its initiative to hold today's meeting on such a relevant topic. We view this meeting as a contribution to strengthening the central coordinating role of the United Nations and the Security Council in the fight against terrorism. We are grateful to the Secretary-General for his participation in the meeting and for his briefing on today's topic. We would also like to thank the Director General of the Intergovernmental Action Group against Money Laundering in West Africa for the information he provided.

In spite of the significant efforts of the international community, terrorism remains one of

the most serious threats to international peace and security. Unfortunately, today Africa has come to be at the forefront of the fight against this scourge. Regional extremist groups have joined forces among themselves with criminal elements, circulating freely through porous borders, updating their sources of financing, and vigorously arming themselves with regional weapons flows from Libyan arsenals. We have warned of such dangers on many occasions. It was to put up reliable roadblocks to stop the spread of Libyan weapons, including man-portable air defence systems, that Russia initiated resolution 2017 (2011).

Substantial finances flow to terrorists from the illicit drug trade. One of the major staging grounds for the smuggling of cocaine into Europe is West Africa. The region is setting up production of synthetic narcotics, and developing existing and new routes for the delivery of Afghan heroin. One result of this process is the broadening of the geography of terrorist activity, with an increased number of terrorist attacks and ever great proliferation of organized crime. Extremists are increasingly attempting to capture positions of Government authority. We are especially troubled by the tendency to weave terrorism into regional armed conflicts, which directly threatens the territorial integrity of States and undermines the foundation of international peace and security. One illustration of this is the ongoing instability in Mali and throughout the Sahel region.

We welcome the adoption of resolution 2100 (2013), which confirms that the international community is working together to find a solution to this problem. Against this backdrop, we cannot but regret that the Council has yet to identify a solid position regarding the condemnation of terrorist attacks and threats in the context of Syrian events, especially bearing in mind the growing influence among the ranks of the opposition of terrorist groups affiliated with Al-Qaida.

African countries are adopting more active initiatives to solve the continent's problems. In that regard, we welcome partnerships between the United Nations and the African Union and other regional organizations in maintaining peace and stability in Africa. Nevertheless, in the prevailing conditions, the assistance of the entire international community in building the capacities of the security forces of African States is essential. Broad and comprehensive measures must be implemented, with a focus on strengthening border and airport security, broadening the exchange of information, and training law enforcement officers.

We note the key role of the Counter-Terrorism Committee Executive Directorate, the Secretariat focal point on the implementation of the Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy, and the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, in providing technical assistance to the States in Africa. We welcome the regional initiatives of those agencies.

In strengthening the capabilities of African States, Russia is focusing above all on providing humanitarian assistance through United Nations channels and, bilaterally, in providing assistance to countries of the region trough training of professional staff, including in law enforcement services. We believe that in the long term, more attention must be paid to the deradicalization of populations, especially young people. We must focus on solving the problems of employment and education. Maintaining our effectiveness remains a challenge, and we must strengthen it in countering extremist tendencies, which are the ideological basis and a breeding ground for terrorist groups in the region.

It is vital to increase efforts to establish an environment that rejects the ideology of violence. We should use the media and civil society to that end. We must nip in the bud all attempts to involve regional diasporas in terrorist activity. We believe it important to further activate provision under Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations, encouraging regional and subregional organizations to take proactive steps in preventive diplomacy and the peaceful resolution of disputes.

We hope that the concerns we have heard today will be taken into due consideration by the Secretary-General in the preparation for the Council on possible further steps in this area. We believe that their implementation will become an important component of global efforts of the international community to withstand the threat of terrorism, and will help ensure the security and stable development of African countries.

Mr. Mehdiyev (Azerbaijan): At the outset, I would like to express our gratitude to you, Sir, for convening and presiding and over this important meeting to discuss the existing challenges of the fight against terrorism in Africa. During its term in the Council, Togo has been a vocal proponent of the goal of advancing peace and security in the region and globally. Your presence today demonstrates your country's strong commitment

to finding solutions to the problems facing the African continent.

I would also like to thank the Secretary-General and Mr. Abdullahi Shehu for their insightful briefings and interventions. I welcome the adoption of presidential statement S/PRST/2013/5 as the outcome of today's debate.

Terrorism is a serious threat to international peace and security, as well as to the political independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and social and economic development of all States. With its constantly changing nature and character, terrorism continues to challenge the well-being of our societies, claim the lives of innocent people, and undermine internal security and stability. No country or region is immune from this scourge.

Azerbaijan is an active contributor to global counter-terrorism activities. The fight against terrorism in the light of the current security developments in some African countries was one of the widely discussed topics at the International Conference on Strengthening Cooperation in Preventing Terrorism, co-organized by Azerbaijan, the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime and the Islamic Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, in Baku on 18 and 19 March.

Terrorism in Africa has its own distinctive character, patterns and more diverse and complex route causes compared to other regions of the world. A number of subregions of the continent suffer from perennial political, security, socioeconomic and humanitarian challenges. Instability, underdevelopment, intercommunal tensions, poverty, lack of viable State institutions and porous borders create conditions favourable to the infiltration of armed groups and terrorist and criminal networks, the in-flow of weaponry into the region and an upsurge in radical separatist activities.

In terms of addressing those root causes, Africa as a whole has made significant progress, and many African States have made serious strides towards political stability, democratization and sustainable economic and social development. Remarkable efforts have been displayed by the African Union, as a leading regional player, and by subregional organizations in Africa, in collectively promoting peace, security and stability on the continent. However, as can be judged from the dynamic of the African issues on the Security Council's agenda, that goal is yet to be achieved. A comprehensive and integrated response and consistent engagement on the part of international, regional and national actors are required in that regard.

Development and security are interlinked and critical to an effective and comprehensive approach to countering terrorism. The spread of terrorism and extremism in various parts of Africa is a source of serious concern. More specifically, the crisis in Mali carries negative implications for the region and beyond, and requires a multifaceted and integrated response in which the political, security, humanitarian and human-rights dimensions are well coordinated and mutually reinforcing. Azerbaijan supports the ongoing efforts aimed at restoring the country's territorial integrity, sovereignty and unity, and at dismantling the terrorist and criminal networks there.

It is essential to continue taking all measures necessary to effectively confront the threats and challenges posed by terrorists and armed opposition groups in Somalia, in particular Al-Shabaab, including through actions against those internal and external actors who attempt to undermine the peace process there.

Across the continent, priority should be given to continued implementation of the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy in an integrated manner and in all its aspects, as well as to the relevant Security Council resolutions. We stress the urgent need for prompt and effective application of the sanctions imposed by the Council as a key instrument in the fight against terrorism. It is also critical that States work towards developing strategies and enhancing coordination in order to combat the activities and prevent the expansion of terrorist Islamist groups such as Al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb, Boko Haram, the Mouvement pour l'unicité et le jihad en Afrique de l'Ouest and Ansar Dine. It should be noted that the last two have recently been listed by the Committee pursuant to resolutions 1267 (1999) and 1989 (2011) concerning Al-Qaida and associated individuals and entities in connection with the emerging terrorist threat in West Africa.

The full implementation of international legal obligations and the most transparent inter-State cooperation in Africa are fundamentally important. We recognize that significant efforts are being made by the United Nations and other international, regional and subregional organizations to promote cooperation and coordination and to enhance the capacities of

African States to tackle terrorism and transnational organized crime. We believe that bilateral cooperation programmes with African States should also be expanded. Azerbaijan is ready to jointly explore, as part of its dialogue with the African Union, the possibilities for our assistance in that area.

Mr. Tatham (United Kingdom): I thank the Togolese presidency, and in particular His Excellency the President of the Togolese Republic, for organizing and presiding over today's debate on the challenges that terrorism poses to peace and security in Africa. I would also like to thank the Secretary-General and Mr. Abdullahi Shehu for their briefings.

There can be no doubt that, sadly and worryingly, terrorism continues to grow in Africa. This reflects the evolution of the terrorist threat we face, which is ever more fragmented and geographically diverse. It threatens the countries and the people of Africa as well as the citizens and interests of countries far beyond Africa's borders, so the international community must work together with the countries of Africa to address the threat. It is a shared challenge for all of us.

Effectively tackling the threat of terrorism requires a comprehensive approach, including political, economic and humanitarian efforts, as well as operational interventions. The Sanctions Committees must play a crucial role in this, and it is important that all relevant components of the United Nations system work together to counter terrorist challenges, while avoiding duplication across its infrastructure. The United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy and the Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force are key mechanisms to that end. The international community should work collaboratively to reduce the drivers of terrorism, counter the radicalization of the vulnerable and support inclusive Government structures that provide the people of Africa with both security and prosperity. It can be done, but it will require a tough, intelligent and patient approach.

Instability has long been a driver of terrorism. Al-Qaida and other terrorist groups thrive where there is political instability and weak political institutions, and where there has been a failure to address long-standing political or social grievances. The international community must work collaboratively with African nations, taking a comprehensive approach to reducing poverty, developing effective governance and delivering economic progress in order to promote stability. Alongside those efforts, we should continue to seek to understand better what motivates individuals to engage in terrorism and to counter those grievances, be they local, national, regional or international. Terrorism must not be allowed to become an attractive option for those disenfranchised by the status quo.

Ransom payments have contributed to the growth of terrorism in Africa. Kidnapping for ransom both supports terrorism and is a form of terrorism itself. The international community must take collective action to combat this problem. We endorse the Global Counter-Terrorism Forum's Algiers memorandum, which provides practical suggestions on how to prevent and resolve terrorist kidnappings, and we welcome the recent experts' meeting in Bogotá. We fully support the work of the Financial Action Task Force to improve anti-money-laundering and anti-terrorist-financing frameworks worldwide. Furthermore, we must work together to ensure that the scale of the current threat from terrorism does not grow. As the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom noted in January,

> "Four years ago, the principal threat from Islamist extremism came from the Afghanistan and Pakistan region. A huge amount has been done to address and reduce the scale of that threat. Whereas at one point three-quarters of the most serious terrorist plots against the United Kingdom had links to that region, today this has reduced to less than half. But at the same time, Al-Qaida franchises have grown in Yemen, Somalia and parts of North Africa."

As the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Luxembourg noted, Somalia illustrates an important point. Just last week, the United Kingdom hosted the Somalia Conference, attended by representatives of 54 countries. It is clear that fighting terrorism alone cannot on its own address the root causes of the problems Somalia faces. The scale of the challenge means that we must engage all the tools at our disposal — diplomatic networks, aid and trade, our political relations and security cooperation. We must also support the building blocks of democracy, such as the rule of law. There is no room for complacency in Somalia. Al-Shabaab remains a deadly threat. However, we believe that the gradual progress being made in Somalia offers a frame of reference. It is an approach that the international community can draw on elsewhere to patiently help rebuild fragile States and address the drivers of terrorism.

As the Secretary-General said in his opening remarks, and as many speakers have echoed, the struggle against terrorism must go forward on many fronts and in a multidimensional way. We must tackle terrorism in a variety of ways — militarily, of course, but we must also address the narrative that terrorists feed on. We must close down the ungoverned spaces in which they thrive and deal with the grievances they use to garner support. The United Kingdom is committed to working with partners to defeat terrorism. We will use our current chairmanship of the Group of Eight to ensure that these issues remain at the very top of the international agenda.

Mr. Masood Khan (Pakistan): At the outset, I would like to say that we strongly condemn the abominable terrorist attacks in Turkey over the weekend that killed and injured many innocent civilians. We offer our deepest condolences to the Government and people of Turkey and the families of victims of that heinous crime.

We are so pleased that the President of Togo, His Excellency Mr. Faure Essozimna Gnassingbé, has done us the honour of presiding over the Council's meeting today. We also thank the Secretary-General for his compelling statement for action in Africa to fight terrorism. We thank the Deputy Prime Minister of Luxembourg, His Excellency Mr. Jean Asselborn; the Foreign Minister of Morocco, His Excellency Mr. Saad-Eddine El Othmani; and Vice Minister Kim Kyou-hyun of the Republic of Korea and Deputy Minister Eduardo Zuain Argentina for attending this debate. We thank Togo for the terse and incisive concept note (S/2013/264, annex), which gives us a succinct overview of the rising threat of terrorism in Africa.

Terrorism is a global threat that knows no geographical boundaries. Africa is the new frontier for international terrorism and rightly deserves the enhanced attention of the international community.

Pakistan continues to be a major victim of the scourge of terrorism. We therefore fully appreciate and share the concerns and pain of our African brothers and sisters over the devastation caused by terrorism on the continent.

You, Mr. President, have expressed a genuine apprehension that Africa runs the risk of becoming the epicentre of terrorism. We also agree with your analysis outlining seven broad trends. First, terrorist groups are hampering the United Nations and African Union peacekeeping and peacebuilding missions. Second, the terrorist threat in Africa conflates political, religious and ideological extremism with organized crime. Third, historical, cultural and political differences and territorial disputes are hampering the efforts to fight terrorism. Fourth, counter-terrorist activities take precious resources away from economic development and efforts to consolidate the rule of law and democracy. Fifth, as a result of terrorist activities, many countries and regions in Africa run the risk of becoming more destabilized and disintegrated.Sixth, Africa may become a ground for terrorist recruitment, training and funding. Seventh, terrorists may gain control of strategic natural resources such as oil, uranium and diamonds in Africa.

In Somalia Al-Shabaab, in Nigeria Boko Haram, in Mali Al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb, the Movement for Unity and Jihad in Western Africa and Ansar Dine, and in the Great Lakes Region the Lord's Resistance Army have targeted Governments and civilians, committed transnational crimes and thwarted national, regional and international efforts to restore peace and stability in those regions. In the Sahel, the toxic mix of those activities is undermining security, governance and the rule of law.

Typically, such terrorist groups take control of a sizable portion of a country to use it as a launching pad for their activities in other countries. They use asymmetric attacks to terrorize populations and destabilize Governments. Those groups are developing linkages with one another, thus creating an arc of instability stretching from the Horn of Africa to Central Africa and the Atlantic Ocean.

The causes of terrorism in various parts of Africa vary. Terrorist groups tend to exploit local grievances. However, there are certain common factors that create conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism. Those include poverty, long unresolved disputes and conflicts, deprivation, marginalization, exclusion and a lack of economic options. Africa's youth bulge, which constitutes some 60 per cent of the continent's population of 1 billion, must be harnessed properly by providing them with economic opportunities to thwart the lure of crime.

The Security Council and the United Nations as a whole have already done impressive work by developing the legal and normative framework for countering terrorism and by creating mechanisms for

implementation. We welcome the increased focus by the Counter-Terrorism Committee on the Sahel region.

African countries have demonstrated commitment to combatting terrorism by adopting legal instruments, investing in research and allocating funds out of their scarce resources.

However, those efforts fall far short of the threat posed by terrorism. The capacities of the countries affected by the menace remain woefully inadequate if they are to address it at the structural and operational levels. It is apparent that terrorism will not be defeated by law enforcement measures, or intelligence operations, or military and security strategies alone. What is therefore required is a comprehensive approach that addresses all aspects of the crisis.

In our view, the strategy to address terrorism in Africa should include the following six elements. First, it should focus on capacity-building for the criminal justice systems at the regional, subregional and national levels. Priority must be accorded to strengthening border controls and the sharing of information. Secondly, regional and subregional cooperation must be strengthened. Thirdly, the United Nations and the African Union should develop an early-warning mechanism as a preventive measure to counter terrorism. In that respect, distinct competencies can be built into United Nations field missions. Fourthly, as security and development are interrelated, creating educational and economic opportunities, in particular for young people, should be part of the broader agenda for the international community's involvement with Africa. Fifthly, the option for dialogue with those amenable to renouncing violence and willing to cut off links with terrorist organizations must remain on the table. That would help to promote reconciliation and bridge differences. Pakistan's comprehensive approach to terrorism is also based on three D's, that is, deterrence, development and dialogue. Sixthly, emphasis must be laid on countering the financing of terrorism. In Africa's context, that would include the proceeds of kidnapping for ransom, illicit drug trafficking and piracy.

As Africa tries to defeat terrorism, there is a need to intensify efforts to resolve long-festering conflicts and crises that spawn terrorism. Terrorism and extremism should not be associated with any religion, race, value system or society. Combatting terrorism requires resolute efforts by the international community in a cooperative framework. Pakistan will continue to contribute to that endeavour.

Finally, we endorse the Council's presidential statement adopted today on combatting terrorism in Africa (S/PRST/2013/5).

Mr. Li Baodong (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): The Chinese delegation thanks Togo for its initiative to hold this debate of the Security Council on the challenges in the fight against terrorism in Africa. We welcome President Faure Essozimna Gnassingbé and his Foreign Minister presiding over today's meeting. We also thank Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon and the representatives of other relevant agencies for their briefings.

Terrorism is the common enemy of humankind. Over recent years, the international community has made some positive progress, but is still faced with a grim situation in the fight against terrorism. Frequent terrorist acts have resulted in enormous civilian casualties. It has become more apparent that terrorist organizers are using younger people, using varied means and developing networks to inflict terror.

International cooperation in the fight against terrorism has a long way to go. At present, African countries are faced with the increasingly menacing threat of terrorism and are at the forefront of the international fight against terrorism. Terrorist organizations take advantage of the political and security turmoil in some parts of Africa and incessantly infiltrate and extend their activities to Africa in an attempt to establish new safe havens on the continent. Terrorist activities and ethnic and religious conflicts in Africa are interlinked. They affect each other, further intensifying arms proliferation and cross-border organized crime, thereby damaging regional stability and economic and social development and having a negative impact on international peace and security.

The fight against terrorism in Africa should in no way have to be fought by African countries alone, as the international community has a shared responsibility in the matter. The international community should, in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the commonly accepted norms governing international relations, adopt swift, effective and coordinated actions and integrated policies that resolve the problem itself and attack its root causes, thereby assisting African countries in their fight against terrorism and thoroughly eliminating the breeding grounds of the scourge.

I would like to take this opportunity to state China's perspective as follows.

First, the leadership of African countries in the fight against terrorism should be fully respected. When providing assistance, the international community should respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the countries concerned, adequately listen to the opinions and ideas of Africa's countries and regional organizations, and carry out international counter-terrorism cooperation on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. Efforts should be made to assist African countries in the promotion of dialogue and exchange among civilizations, religions and ethnicities and avoid linking terrorism with a particular religion or ethnicity. Double standards should be avoided. No country should use its own interests, whether threatened or not, as the standard in the determination of what constitutes terrorist activity or a terrorist organization.

Secondly, efforts should be made to assist Africa in realizing regional peace and security. The security turmoil in certain parts of Africa provides a hotbed for terrorism. We urge the international community to be objective and fair, support African countries and regional organizations comprehensively and proactively in their effort to maintain regional peace and security, encourage the resolution of African issues by Africans in the African way, and help African countries devise their own development path consistent with their own situations. The international community should also pay due attention to economic and social development in Africa, effectively honour its commitments and actively provide assistance to African countries without any political conditions attached.

Thirdly, efforts should be made to help African countries build their capacity in the fight against terrorism. Limited resources and capacities are the biggest constraint for African countries in their fight against terrorism. We urge the international community, in particular developed countries, to redouble its efforts in helping African countries promote capacity-building in the justice and security sectors, strengthen exchanges of experiences and information-sharing and support the relevant efforts of regional and subregional organizations. Helping the enhanced counter-terrorism capacity of African countries should be made an important priority for the United Nations in the context of implementing the Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy. The United Nations should strengthen coordination and cooperation with the relevant parties and provide more effective assistance to Africa through the Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force and the Counter-Terrorism Committee Executive Directorate.

China is also a victim of terrorism. We feel compassion for Africa in the light of the terrorist threat it faces. China resolutely supports African countries and its regional organizations in their unremitting efforts to fight terrorism. We will continue to do what we can to provide support and assistance to African countries to jointly address the threat that terrorism has brought to Africa and the world at large.

Mr. Araud (France) (*spoke in French*): I would like to thank the President of Togolese Republic and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Togo, the Secretary-General and all of the Ministers for their participation in this high-level debate.

I associate myself with the statement to be made by the Observer of the European Union.

Terrorism is a major threat for the African continent, in the Sahel, Nigeria and Somalia. It is a serious threat for regional stability and, beyond that, for international peace and security. It is therefore at very core of the Security Council's action.

In the Sahel, the scourge grew out of problems of governance, drug trafficking and the status of communities. The intervention of French and African forces has reduced the threat but residual elements remain. In Somalia, the situation is still fragile. Al-Shabaab controls a large part of the territory, and terrorist attacks regularly target Government authorities. In Nigeria, Boko Haram continues to pursue its attempts to destabilize the Government.

The phenomenon is constantly evolving. The porous borders, linked to technological advances and progress in communications, finance and transportation, have fuelled relationships between terrorist networks and criminal groups operating internationally, thus making the fight against terrorism even more complex.

France has made the fight against terrorism in Africa one of its priorities. Our commitment in Mali since 11 January, in conjunction with Malian armed forces and African forces of the African-led International Support Mission in Mali, is the clearest sign of that fact. In that respect, I would like to pay tribute to the commitment of the Economic Community of West African States and the African Union. I welcome

in particular the mobilization of African contingents, namely, Togolese contingents, which were so swiftly deployed in Mali.

In January, Mali could have become a State run by terrorists. The situation was obviously unacceptable, not only for Malians themselves but for all the States in the region and beyond the region, that is, for all of those who could one day be affected by terrorism, in Africa, in Europe or elsewhere. That is why France, at the request of the Malian authorities, intervened alongside Malian forces and African forces. The northern towns were retaken, terrorists were thwarted and the territorial integrity of the country was restored.

The adoption of resolution 2100 (2013) confirmed the unanimous support of the international community for the stabilization of Mali and the action of France and African States to counter terrorist groups in the region. Today, Mali is able to continue its political process, namely, through the holding of elections. That is crucial because — let us make no mistake about it — in the fight against terrorism, politics is also a weapon.

The fight against terrorism in Africa and the world remains, above all, a collective responsibility that requires more than ever the mobilization and coordination of all stakeholders concerned. I am thinking first of all of the States of the region, which have the primary responsibility to prevent and combat all of the forms and expressions of the phenomenon. In that regard, we urge all African States to join the relevant sectoral agreements to combat terrorism and strengthen mutual cooperation, in particular in the Sahel.

African regional organizations are particularly concerned by the scourge that has lodged itself on the continent. But it is also up to them to provide solutions. The African Union was therefore able to take up the initiative against Al-Shabaab and has shown great determination against the terrorist groups in Mali. Today, several subregional organizations have acquired the tools to fight the financing of terrorism, such as the Intergovernmental Action Group against Money Laundering in West Africa, whose representative's presence in the Chamber today I welcome.

The European Union also contributes to efforts to combat terrorism in Africa. It is not only Africa that the scourge destabilizes; the consequences of terrorism are also felt throughout the world. Therefore, through its efforts in Africa, Europe is participating in ensuring its own security.

Of course, the United Nations must also play a role. The Organization has acquired the relevant tools to carry out the fight. First of all, it has adopted a Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy, but it has also set up Sanctions Committees supported by the United Nations structure, which remind terrorists on a daily basis that we are not lowering our guard.

All of those efforts should be coordinated in order to have a maximum impact. It is only collectively that we manage to effectively fight terrorism in Africa. It is a major challenge, and we do not have the right to fail.

Before concluding, allow me to express my condolences to the Government and people of Turkey who have been struck by terrorism.

Mr. Briz Gutiérrez (Guatemala) (*spoke in Spanish*): I would like to begin my statement by thanking the President of the Republic of Togo for attending the beginning of today's meeting, as well as his senior Minister. That is a sign of the political support that their Administration attaches to our work. We also commend the outstanding work done by Ambassador Kodjo Menan and all of his team at the helm of the Council. The concept note (S/2013/264, annex) that was circulated for today's debate is a reflection of the high quality of that work.

We should like also to express our recognition of the importance of the issue that Togo has selected for our debate: its geographic expression, Africa, and thematic expression, terrorism, are at the heart of the Security Council's agenda. We also acknowledge the presence of the Secretary-General, and we thank him for his statement this morning. We also thank Mr. Shehu for his statement.

The concept note invites us to consider, on the one hand, the conditions and consequences of the terrorist threat in Africa and, on the other, to look at regional efforts and the need for greater support from the international community.

Regarding the first aspect, it is well documented that terrorism is often the product of basic conditions such as oppression, social injustice, the lack of economic opportunities and weak State institutions. Thousands of young people choose this path out of despair, which is sometimes magnified by groups that systematically promote their radical and violent causes. In that respect, we should not underestimate the

potential links and interconnections between terrorism and destabilizing factors such as transnational organized crime, drug trafficking and piracy. In areas where crime is widespread, terrorists may move in and operate for their own benefit, or terrorists may rely on criminal acts to finance their activities.

Moreover, the issue of transnationalization is extremely relevant, since the perpetrators of criminal activities and, sometimes, terrorist groups seek to establish themselves in countries where police or military enforcement is non-existent owing to weak border control and crime. Therefore, the better control and regulation of cross-border activities is essential to guaranteeing peace and stability and to promoting the appropriate policies and necessary socioeconomic activities, especially with a view to the integration of the economies of Africa.

We deem of particular importance the need to focus more on the conditions that are conducive to the existence and spread of terrorism. We believe that the effectiveness of our efforts in the fight against terrorism is related to our capacity to successfully address the conditions that fuel that phenomenon.

In that regard, we believe that during the past decade we have acquired a large number of multidimensional operational tools to address this issue and to cooperate effectively, taking into account the needs and specificities of each region. Within the scope of the Security Council in particular, we believe that the sanctions regimes have been effective. Let me recall that this organ has reiterated its determination to continue to adopt new sanctions, in accordance with the sanctions regime established pursuant to resolutions 1267 (1999) and 1989 (2011), against groups and persons that do not cut off all ties with Al-Qaida and associated groups, such as Al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb and the Movement for Unity and Jihad in Western Africa.

As we have already heard from previous speakers, we have learned the lesson that it is not possible to combat terrorism exclusively through military force. Although terrorism is clearly an unjustifiable criminal act, any measure to combat it must be taken in strict conformity with international law, in particular international human rights law and international humanitarian law. The legitimacy of the actions of both the United Nations and its Member States is of fundamental importance.

For that reason, we would like to touch upon another issue mentioned in the concept note: peacekeeping operations. It is no coincidence that a number of those operations were established in situations that posed a threat to peace and where the presence of terrorist groups was a destabilizing factor. Examples in that respect range from Somalia to Mali. When militant extremists threaten the peace, the issue starts to overlap with that of the protection of civilians, which our peacekeeping operations are typically mandated to ensure. Therefore the fight against terrorism can, in some cases, threaten the guiding principles of peacekeeping operations, such as impartiality and the non-use of force, except in cases of self-defence.

That leads me to the second point touched on in the concept note: that international and interregional cooperation are fundamental pillars of the global effort to eradicate international terrorism. In that context, two dimensions should be borne in mind: cooperation with regional and subregional organizations, and cooperation within the United Nations system.

All States in all regions, large or small, strong or weak, are vulnerable to terrorism and its consequences. Therefore, in discussing this important issue, the focus should be not only on the individual risk to a particular State or region, but also on a global concerted response on the part of all countries. That means that it is a shared responsibility, because we cannot fight the problem successfully if each and every State does not at the same time combat it within its own jurisdiction.

Lastly, let me say that many of these comments are reflected in the presidential statement (S/PRST/2013/5) that we have just adopted, whose text we of course support.

Mr. Quinlan (Australia): I would like to thank Togo for its leadership in convening this important debate, President Gnassingbé, and you, Mr. Minister, for your presence here today. I wish also to thank the Secretary-General and Mr. Shehu.

There is no doubt that, as everyone has said, Africa is the new theatre in the fight against terrorism and that the terrorist threat in Africa poses new and particularly complex challenges. Terrorist groups are showing greater skill at forming alliances and manipulating grievances or insurgencies, and taking advantage of ungoverned spaces. They are increasingly working together, across borders, regions and continents. Australian terrorism investigations have revealed that

African terrorist groups have influenced Australian youths through radicalization.

As we know, terrorist groups in parts of Africa are exploiting vulnerabilities in States, including institutions with limited capacity, porous borders, existing grievances, and poverty and unemployment. Terrorist activities themselves then exacerbate those conditions.

To break that vicious circle, we need to tackle the threat at three levels: through capacity, prevention and coordination.

First, with respect to capacity, many African States want better law-enforcement capacity and training. Stronger policing and intelligence and closer cooperation with prosecutors, defence counsel and judges nationally and regionally is needed to develop an effective criminal justice approach. We have learned from experience, for example in Indonesia, that one of the most powerful tools in this fight is actual prosecutions and convictions, some based on joint investigations. That requires effective laws and dedicated regional training facilities in Africa, which strengthen relationships and information-sharing, including intelligence.

Drawing on the experience, for example, of the Jakarta Centre for Law Enforcement Cooperation, my own country is supporting the creation of an Eastern African regional counter-terrorism centre, as well as Counter-Terrorism Committee Executive Directorate workshops for police and prosecutors in East Africa and Nigeria on effectively bringing terrorists to justice. We have also just finalized a handbook for the African Union on criminalizing terrorism, to assist African policymakers in developing effective criminal laws to combat terrorism.

Secondly, equal efforts must be made to prevent terrorism and extremism from emerging, arming and recruiting. Prevention is a complex and difficult task, often without measurable results, but it is equally a decisive component of a comprehensive strategy. Governments need to actively counter the negative drumbeat of terrorist messaging and close opportunities for narratives of injustice or exclusion to resonate and radicalize.

We understand that 46 per cent of those who joined ideological militant movements in Mali have said they were motivated by a sense of injustice and revenge, while 21 per cent were motivated by unemployment. Key prevention strategies include building resilience in communities, including ensuring that they promote values of tolerance and understanding and dialogue and respect for diversity. Mali's new dialogue and reconciliation commission will have a critical role to play in that regard. Opening up opportunities for economic and social advancement — particularly in relation to engaging youth, which account for more than 60 per cent of Africa's unemployed, with around 10-12 million youth entering the job market each year — is a decisive vulnerability. The average age of terrorists, we must remember, is getting younger. Strengthening governance, democracy, the rule of law and trusted security sector institutions includes good service delivery and the extension of State authority to regional areas. The new United Nations mission in Somalia has a strong mandate to assist the federal Government in that regard. We should stress the importance of proactive efforts on security sector reform and on the physical security of State weapons arsenals to prevent arms from leaking into the hands of terrorists, which is one of the key lessons of the Mali crisis.

Thirdly, there is the importance of greater coordination at national and regional levels, particularly through the African Union, and at the international level. Today's presidential statement (S/PRST/2013/5) very usefully highlights that. As the Secretary-General and others have already said today, the long-awaited integrated strategy for the Sahel should provide a strong template for coordinated activity across the Sahel region, encompassing security, governance, development, human rights and humanitarian assistance.

There are other areas where the United Nations and the Security Council could be doing more on coordination. The Council's sanctions regime targeting Al-Qaida has enormous potential to assist in turning the tide against Al-Qaida affiliates in Africa. To be effective, the Council and African States need to work together to target those entities, their leaders and, most important, their enablers that provide arms, funds and recruits.

To that end, the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolutions 1267 (1999) has taken a focused look at the threat posed by Al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb, the Movement for Unity and Jihad in West Africa and Ansar Dine and is moving forward with a plan for outreach to countries of the region, with a view to providing assistance to effectively implement

the sanctions measures and to encourage partnership with those States to identify the right targets that will deliver the maximum impact.

Mr. Shehu told us clearly this morning that we need to improve our performance in targeting and implementing our sanctions. We need to mainstream the analysis of terrorism, its causes and measures to address it into the United Nations peace and security agenda, including mandates and field missions, as the representative of Pakistan said this morning.

Too often, we focus our response and peacekeeping and stabilization efforts on a country, when we know the threat can transcend borders and materialize elsewhere. We need to consider further the ways that the United Nations system can buffer the impact of the threat and the response on the immediate region.

The Council and the United Nations can work in partnership with neighbouring countries and strengthen dialogue with them to better understand the threat and the risks and to mobilize the necessary support from subsidiary bodies, the rest of the United Nations system and partners to counter the spread of conflict, extremism, arms and funds.

Support is often needed particularly in policing, securing borders, securing arms stockpiles and addressing counter-terrorism financing. Stronger coordination between political missions, country and regional offices and panels of experts will also improve the effectiveness of missions and help identify early emerging threats.

In conclusion, it is vital that the Council sends a message today — as I believe we are — that the international community will cooperate across borders to defeat terrorists and their criminal supporters who are undermining progress and prosperity in Africa.

I would also like to join others in expressing condolences to the people and Government of Turkey over the terrorist attacks it suffered over the weekend.

The President (*spoke in French*): I now give the floor to His Excellency Mr. Tête António, Permanent Observer of the African Union to the United Nations.

Mr. António (*spoke in French*): I would like, at the outset, to welcome the presence this morning of His Excellency Mr. Faure Essozimna Gnassingbé, President of the Togolese Republic, and to thank him for his enlightening statement, which clearly indicated the path ahead in terms of counter-terrorism efforts in Africa.

We welcome the Togolese presidency of the Security Council and congratulate it for all of the actions taken with respect to issues of concern to the African continent. We also wish to welcome all of those who have come here to participate in the debate. We also wish to thank Mr. Abdullahi Shehu for his statement. In particular we welcome the statement of the Secretary-General, which shed light on an important matter for the African continent.

(*spoke in English*)

I would like, on behalf of Her Excellency Ms. Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, Chairperson of the African Union Commission, to express the African Union's gratitude for the invitation extended to us to participate in this important debate on a very important subject that calls for urgent attention, given the new security threats emerging on the African continent, worsened by the scourge of terrorism, particularly in the Sahel Region.

I would like to take the opportunity to also highlight the important actions that the African Union (AU) has undertaken in the fight against terrorism in Africa within the context of maintaining international peace and security. Despite having registered commendable progress vis-à-vis the threat of terrorism at international and continental levels, we are witnessing, unfortunately, a further deepening of the complex terrorist threat currently facing the continent. That is particularly evident in the Sahel region, where human, drug and arms trafficking, kidnap-for-ransom, piracy, the illicit proliferation of arms and money laundering are increasingly becoming closely intertwined with terrorism. The African Union has always recognized that interconnection, with its attendant consequences on peace, security, stability and development on the continent. That is reflected in the various AU instruments.

As a result of the interconnection, we are witnessing a mutation of the ideologically based terrorism threat to a new form of terrorism, which experts refer to as narco-terrorism. It is a security threat that has given birth to new forms of mercenarism in Africa — guns-for-hire — where fighters are joining not necessarily for ideological reasons, but rather for financial gain. The prevailing security situation in Mali, as well as the case

of Somalia, clearly demonstrate the devastating effects of such threats to peace, security and development.

Success in the war against terrorism, drug trafficking and other forms of international organized crime requires a firm, focused, coordinated and collective effort by all Member States and the rest of the international community, acting in a complementary manner. Effective counter-terrorism action must aim at addressing the root causes of terrorism and at preventing terrorists from successfully recruiting and carrying out their activities, as well as the ability to limit the damage caused by terrorist attacks. That requires considerable resources and the convergence of like-minded institutions specializing in the different aspects of the counter-terrorism efforts.

In such a situation, cohesion, harmonization, coordination and cooperation among all stakeholders and network... become the rule rather than the choice.

The counter-terrorism evaluation missions undertaken by the African Centre for the Study and Research on Terrorism to a number of Sahel countries affected by active terrorism have revealed acute weaknesses in the fields of coordination, prevention, law enforcement, damage limitation and protection. Most of the problems were identified as structural and profoundly interrelated, and need to be addressed in a holistic manner striking a strategic balance between the actions aimed at reinforcing security and those that are directed at development.

It is in this context that, in an effort to better systematize the continental effort against terrorism and to ensure that local and regional realities and approaches, perceptions, causes, features and manifestations of terrorism are duly taken into account, the African Union Commission has been urging member States and regional economic communities to develop and adopt, as a matter of urgency, comprehensive regional counter-terrorism strategies, as well as coordination and implementation mechanisms, by domesticating the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy, the 1999 Organization of African Unity Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism, and other relevant AU and United Nations counter-terrorism instruments. It is our belief that in such cases, coordination is best assured by a centrally placed structure at the national and regional levels in the form of a fusion centre that ensures that intelligence and real time operational information is exchanged, and that the activity of each player remains within the framework and the strategic vision adopted at the outset, ensures coherence between intelligence, policy and operation, and provides strategic direction to all parties involved.

At the level of the African Union Commission, we continue to work along those lines, giving priority to capacity-building, the improvement of the counter-terrorism legal framework, and the promotion of better institutional interaction and coordination at the national and regional levels, as well as the development of early warning capacity that allows for timely and appropriate intervention.

The improvement of the legal framework will be pursued to mobilize technical assistance, particularly in cooperation with the Counter-Terrorism Committee Executive Directorate, the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime and the Global Counter-Terrorism Forum criminal justice sector to help member States harmonize their national criminal legislation with the AU counter-terrorism model law by adopting legislation that effectively eradicates terrorism and its financing sources, including from ransom payments and other types of organized crime, particularly drug trafficking. We continue to work on the establishment of the African arrest warrant, the African passport stop list, and the finalization of draft conventions on extradition and mutual legal assistance agreements.

With respect to capacity-building, the reality of the member States calls for the development of regional, comprehensive and complete training packages and manuals for law enforcement agencies, security services, judicial services, expert translators, and scientific and technical investigation experts to counter terrorism and transnational organized crime within the regional framework. That would also contribute towards enhanced cooperation between law enforcement agencies, regional protocols to facilitate the indictment of terrorists and other transnational criminal networks, extradition and mutual assistance protocols, and genuine international support to track down those networks. An appropriate mechanism against transnational organized crime is also necessary to ensure sustainability, the provision of financial, logistical and technical support to maintain the efficient functioning of law enforcement, and judicial cooperation.

The fight against terrorism, drug trafficking and other types of organized crime is being hampered

by overlapping challenges of an economic, social, political, security, human capacity, organizational and infrastructural nature. Committed, sustainable and reliable support on the part of our cooperating partners, in coordination with the member States, in a manner that can also contribute to local development is urgently required if the region is to successfully overcome those difficulties and contribute to the global fight against terrorism and organized crime in general.

The need for sustained support to the ongoing establishment of national coordinating structures for terrorism and organized crime in the form of national and regional fusion centres cannot be overemphasized. That should aim at enabling a timely exchange of information, the creation of synergies, and the sharing of resources among different institutions involved in the conduct of joint operations. It would also contribute to enhancing national and regional cooperation.

In conclusion, I need to emphasize that ensuring a safe, secure and stable continent that is free from the scourges of terrorism, violent conflicts and other threats to peace, security and development is at the core of the key objective of the African Union. Our presence here today is a clear testament to our commitment and determination to achieve better coordination with the rest of the international community so that we can together effectively prevent and lastingly combat terrorism and all threats to international peace, security and stability.

(*spoke in French*)

Like speakers who have preceded me, I would like to offer my condolences to the Government and people of Turkey following the terrorist acts that victimized that country, which is a friend of Africa.

The President (*spoke in French*): I now give the floor to the representative of Côte d'Ivoire.

Mr. Bamba (Côte d'Ivoire) (*spoke in French*): I have the honour to take the floor on behalf of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). ECOWAS fully associates itself with the statement made by the Permanent Observer of the African Union.

It is with great joy that I fulfil my pleasant duty of conveying to His Excellency Mr. Faure Essozimna Gnassingbé, President of the Togolese Republic, our respect and admiration for Togo's assumption of the presidency of the Security Council this month. We are also grateful that he has chosen for this meeting a theme that is so important to the stability of our States, concerning the challenges related to counter-terrorism in Africa in the context of international peacekeeping and security. Finally, we would like to thank the President of the Togolese Republic not only for agreeing to travel to New York to preside in person over this important meeting, but also for having delivered an excellent and comprehensive speech, which will be a point of reference as we consider this question.

Like other parts of the world, Africa has not been spared by international terrorism, one of the most serious challenges to the international community. The globalization of that threat and its ramifications in Africa have made our continent both a base and a prime target of international terrorist networks, mostly Al-Qaida, which has affiliations in Africa with the terrorist networks Al-Shabaab in East Africa, Boko Haram in Nigeria and a myriad of terrorist groups affiliated with Al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb that are very active in West Africa, the Sahel region and beyond.

Africa has been the victim of Al-Qaida attacks since 1998, including those in Tanzania and Kenya. Fortunately, a number of attempts have failed. For the first time, the attacks in Mombasa used a ground-to-air missile against an airline aircraft, which reminds us that the spectre of terrorism still looms on the continent. The presence of the threat was definitively confirmed by the most recent attacks in Casablanca and Algiers. That terrorist threat in Africa grew out of an affiliation of the Salafist Group for Call and Combat in Algeria with Al-Qaida in September 2006, which took the name Al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb. That group is active in the Sahel; it penetrates porous borders, which are difficult to monitor, to recruit extremists for training and for launching operations that seek to destabilize the area.

In that context, the Sahel and Sahara regions, just like East Africa, have been the focus of attention in recent years, given their vulnerability to the terrorist threat. Attacks perpetrated in some countries and the border incidents and threats aimed at destabilizing regions are among the factors that have convinced neighbouring countries to form links of strategic cooperation on the subject. The Malian crisis is but one of the consequences of the increase in terrorism in Africa. Northern Mali has gradually become a sanctuary for terrorist groups, which have circulated with impunity, committing the worst violations of

human rights. That terrorist presence threatens not only the States of West Africa and the Sahel but also those in the Maghreb and beyond. That is a genuine threat to international peace and security, which requires a comprehensive and determined response from the international community.

The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) therefore welcomed the intervention of French troops upon the request of the legal authorities of Mali, which assisted the Malian army in repelling the offensive of the terrorist groups and showed the effectiveness of international solidarity in dealing with the scourge. For their part, African countries made a commitment to combat terrorism in the Community of Sahelo-Saharan States and to make the necessary efforts to establish mechanisms and measures to strengthen peace and security in the common space through cooperation on counter-terrorism, transboundary organized crime, illicit trafficking, money-laundering and cybercrime.

The forty-second regular session of the Summit of the Authority of ECOWAS Heads of State and Government, held on 27 and 28 February in Yamoussoukro, adopted the ECOWAS counter-terrorism strategy and its implementation plan, as well as a political declaration on a common position on combatting terrorism in the region. On that occasion, ECOWAS solemnly and unambiguously condemned terrorism in all its forms and manifestations, including kidnapping, hijacking, hostage-taking, ransom requests, bomb threats in public and private places and important infrastructure, and sabotage and desecration of places of worship and other cultural or sacred places. The ECOWAS counter-terrorism strategy is based on a holistic approach. It includes a full array of measures that are to be taken by various organizations in member States. It provides a strategic orientation to confine and eliminate the threat posed by terrorism to our community. To that end, we will establish a coordination unit to combat terrorism and issue ECOWAS arrest warrants and an ECOWAS blacklist for terrorists and criminal networks in order to facilitate the coordination and sharing of information among member States.

In conclusion, ECOWAS is determined to participate fully in combatting the plague of terrorism. We therefore call upon the international community, technical assistance institutions, development partners, the relevant international organizations and civil society groups to coordinate their activities with ECOWAS and to strengthen the various facets of cooperation in order to vanquish this ongoing threat to international peace and security.

The President (*spoke in French*): I now give the floor to His Excellency Mr. Thomas Mayr-Harting, Head of the Delegation of the European Union.

Mr. Mayr-Harting: I speak on behalf of the European Union and its member States. For the sake of time, I shall shorten my spoken remarks. The full statement of the European Union will be available in the Chamber. The acceding country Croatia; the candidate countries Turkey, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Montenegro, Iceland and Serbia; the countries of the Stabilization and Association Process and potential candidates Albania and Bosnia and Herzegovina; the European Free Trade Association country Norway, member of the European Economic Area; as well as Ukraine, the Republic of Moldova and Georgia, align themselves with this statement.

At the outset, please let me thank the Togolese presidency for organizing today's debate and, in particular, the President of Togo for coming to personally preside over this debate on the challenges that terrorism poses to peace and security in Africa. I would also like to thank the Secretary-General for his briefing.

International terrorism constitutes a very significant threat to peace and security in many parts of the world. Regrettably, that is also true in Africa. The increasingly international, and even global, nature of the terrorist threat means that no continent is spared. Spillover effects between countries and continents are now a reality. That is also true for Africa and Europe. While the effort to prevent and counter terrorism starts at the national level, only regional cooperation, in particular cooperation between regions in a global context, will have any chance of sustainable success.

At the global level, the European Union fully supports the high priority given to the fight against international terrorism by the United Nations. The Organization has a crucial role to play in harnessing regional efforts in a coordinated, global framework. In that context, I would also like to mention the important role of global counter-terrorism. Before turning to the specific situation in Africa, I would like to take this opportunity to enumerate the five conditions that, in the European experience, are required for successful counter-terrorism efforts.

First, global counter-terrorism efforts must be underpinned by solid efforts at the regional level, including action to stop vulnerable individuals from being drawn into terrorism and conflict. Every region needs to fully commit to addressing the problem and, as far as possible, to take a lead in responding to it. Regional and subregional organizations need to engage actively. In that regard, we welcome the steps taken by the African Union (AU), notably the AU Plan of Action on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism in Africa, and the appointment, in 2010, of Francisco Madeira as the AU special representative in charge of counter-terrorism cooperation. We also welcome the recent adoption of a far-reaching counter-terrorism strategy by the Economic Community of West African States, about which the representative of Côte d'Ivoire has just spoken.

Secondly, to be successful, counter-terrorism efforts need to address not only the symptoms but also the root causes that create the environments that enable terrorist organizations to develop.

Thirdly, we need to pay due attention to risks related to radicalization. While specific anti-radicalization actions, in particular through education, can have a positive effect, they need to be accompanied by development support that addresses the root causes of radicalization.

Fourthly, we should not separate counter-terrorism efforts from support for good governance in the regions affected by terrorism. Steps to end the use of torture, enforced disappearances and extrajudicial killings will stifle terrorist recruitment. Equally, steps to enhance local governance and democratic participation by local communities will have beneficial effects, as will strenuous efforts to fight corruption and strengthen and reform an independent judiciary.

The European experience of counter-terrorism has shown the paramount importance of keeping the fight against terrorism solidly within the bounds of the rule of law, including international human rights law, refugee law and humanitarian law. Violations of such law will play in the hands of terrorist organizations.

The European Union is stepping up its support for counter-terrorism and development efforts in West Africa and the Sahel, as well in as in the Horn of Africa. We are firmly committed to enhance the implementation of the EU Sahel strategy, with counter-terrorism as a key theme. Allow me to salute the efforts made in the region to draw up and implement national counter-terrorism and stabilization strategies. Also, in 2012, the EU launched EUCAP SAHEL, a training and capacity-building mission based in the Niger.

The crisis in Mali has further accelerated the European Union's engagement in that region. On 2 April, the European Union launched EU Training Mission Mali, a new mission to train the Malian army. That mission will work hand in hand with the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali.

In that context, please allow me to also mention the international donors' conference on Mali that the Presidents of Mali, France and the European Commission will host in Brussels on Wednesday. We are grateful for the significant high-level participation from the region at that conference.

The other focal point for EU counter-terrorism support in Africa is Somalia and the wider Horn of Africa region. Since the adoption of the its strategic framework for the Horn of Africa in 2011, the European Union has stepped up its involvement linking political, security-related and development support. In that context, let me refer, inter alia, to our crisis-management missions, the European Union military mission to contribute to the training of Somali security forces, EU NAVFOR Atalanta, which contributes to the deterrence, prevention and repression of acts of piracy, and EUCAP NESTOR.

The EU also continues to provide significant financial support through the African Peace Facility to the African Union Mission in Somalia, whose efforts and sacrifices have been crucial in the still-ongoing extension of State authority across the territory of Somalia.

The European Union on 31 January also adopted the EU counter-terrorism action plan for the Horn of Africa.

Finally, let me mention that the European Union is also pursuing the initiative of stepping up the mobilization and coordination of international support for Somalia, and will host a major international conference in Brussels on 16 September.

While the recent progress in Somalia is encouraging, the scourge of terrorism in Africa is far from defeated, as the recent crisis in Mali has shown particularly dramatically. Comprehensive preventative strategies

are key to countering the process of and thereby reducing the likelihood of terrorist groups developing the ability to plot attacks. Further attention and resources should be devoted to effectively examining and addressing the connections between terrorism and transnational organized crime. We need to be vigilant so that terrorist organizations do not exploit the positive political changes in North Africa.

The lead for these efforts lies clearly with African Governments and African regional and subregional organizations. For its part, the European Union will continue to develop its support for their efforts to build national and regional counter-terrorism strategies and capacities, including work to counter the process of radicalization, in line with the comprehensive approach addressing poverty, development, governance, the rule of law and respect for human rights and international law.

The President (*spoke in French*): I now give the floor to the representative of Ethiopia.

Mr. Alemu (Ethiopia): It is a great honour for me to welcome the President to New York and to thank him for Togo's initiative to convene this debate on "Peace and security in Africa: the challenges of the fight against terrorism in Africa in the context of maintaining international peace and security". His presence at this meeting is testimony of Togo's commitment to doing whatever is necessary to ensure that the challenges of terrorism are effectively addressed through international cooperation, which is the only way that the scourge can be defeated.

I express our sympathies to the people of Turkey.

I am also grateful for the opportunity given to me to speak on my country's behalf as Chair of the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD), a subregional organization that, in close coordination with the African Union, has done so much to address the challenges of terrorism in the Horn of Africa.

In that respect, both IGAD and the African Union (AU) have been at the forefront of the fight against international terrorism. The two organizations have also been extremely eager to strengthen international cooperation in counter-terrorism efforts, including with a view to ensuring the effective implementation of the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy. Both have been ready to work closely with the Secretariat's Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force. Both IGAD and the AU have also sought to ensure greatly enhanced cooperation with the Council's three anti-terrorism Committees — the Counter-Terrorism Committee and Executive Directorate, Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolutions 1267 (1999) and 1989 (2011), concerning Al-Qaida and associated individuals and entities, and the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1540 (2004).

The AU, and before it the Organization of African Unity (OAU), has been actively engaged in the fight against terrorism since the 1990s. It began with the adoption, in 1992, of the resolution on the strengthening of cooperation and coordination among African States. A major step was taken by the OAU subsequently when in 1999 it adopted its Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism. To give concrete expression to the principles of the Convention, the organization produced a plan of action in 2002 that provided for the establishment of the African Centre for Studies and Research on Terrorism, which came into being in 2004 with its seat in Algiers. Among the functions of the Centre is the objective of strengthening the capacity of African States in the struggle against terrorism. No event has shown more clearly how Africa needs to build its capacity in this area than the situation that we faced in Mali. Our experience in Mali has also demonstrated how much the building of robust State institutions is absolutely indispensable to fight terrorism effectively.

But still, where Africa has shown the most resolve has been on the practical side of the fight against terrorism and extremism. No doubt, both Africa in general, and the Horn of Africa in particular, have been targets of international terrorism. It is obvious that the ultimate victory over extremism and terror can be achieved only when the root causes of the scourge are effectively addressed. It is impossible to ensure acceptable levels of peace and security in the face of abject poverty and deprivation, and the hopelessness that they spawn. But terrorism has no justification. The international consensus at present condemns terrorism in all its forms and manifestations, committed by whomever, wherever and for whatever purpose.

Our experience in the IGAD region tells us that there is little chance of succeeding in the fight against terrorism, except through genuine, effective international cooperation that makes no distinction regarding where the crime of terrorism is committed. That often-expressed notion, with the aim of

distinguishing among groups that resort to terror based on where the act is committed, is a recipe for defeating the spirit and determination of genuine international cooperation aimed at overcoming this scourge. In other words, as long as there is a double standard in the fight against terrorism, there can be little hope of defeating international terrorism. We have agreed at the international level that the location, the targets and those who carry out the act do not matter as far as terrorism is concerned. It is the means used to achieve a goal, whatever the goal may be, that is the basis for international cooperation against terrorism. In that regard, we still have a long way to go before we reach to the stage where we can say that now, at last, we, the international community, have laid the foundation for an effective cooperation and coordination in the fight against terrorism.

That is not to say that the IGAD region, for instance, has not enjoyed the cooperation of the Security Council, other partners and the international community at large to ensure that progress is made towards peace and stability in our subregion. The progress we see in Somalia today would not have been possible without such cooperation. On the other hand, it is clear, given the magnitude of the problem in the subregion and its vulnerability, that much more is needed to ensure that real progress is made and that gains made are not reversed. By any standard, at present it appears that there is far greater cooperation and coordination among those promoting and perpetrating terror than there is among those theoretically committed to doing whatever is necessary to defeat the scourge. Those committed to terror have become very adept at using modern communication technology, including the Internet, perhaps better than most who profess the determination to fight them.

That is the experience we have had in the Horn of Africa, and that is why it has become so critical to have genuine practical international cooperation in the fight against terrorism. Transnational crimes of the various types that help spread terrorism can be contained only when there is such cooperation and coordination at the international level. Legal regimes for combating terrorism are critical to success in this area, but their effectiveness depends on the existence of genuine cooperation that makes no distinction based on where the crime of terrorism is committed. In that regard, there is no doubt that the international community has a lot of work to do in order to make progress in addressing the concerns of many, including those in the IGAD region.

The President (*spoke in French*): I now give the floor to the representative of the Sudan.

Mr. Osman (Sudan) (*spoke in Arabic*): At the outset, I would like to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your sisterly country's presidency of the Security Council for this month. We also commend your initiative in convening this important meeting on the challenges of the fight against terrorism in Africa in the context of maintaining international peace and security. This is a good and timely choice. We welcome the participation of a number of ministers in today's meeting. In that context, my delegation would like to extend its condolences to all the victims of terrorism throughout the world.

My delegation acknowledges the international consensus on implementing the Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy, adopted by the United Nations in 2006. We also welcome the efforts of the Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force to ensure coordination in measures aimed at combating terrorism and implementing the Strategy. In that context, we again commend the launch of efforts by the United Nations Counter-Terrorism Centre and the initiative taken by the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques, King Abdullah Bin Abdulaziz Al-Saud of Saudi Arabia, which led to the opening of the Centre.

Again and again, we are increasingly convinced that, as we have heard today, terrorism has no religion, no colour, no gender. The events that have been witnessed by some countries around the world, particularly some African States, in recent months, show that terrorism is on the rise, along with the spreading roots and grievances on which terrorists build their misguided intellectual theories. Treating those root causes therefore is an effective remedy for eradicating this pernicious phenomenon.

Combating poverty and supporting the renaissance of Africa, eliminating injustice and inequality and promoting development, fostering dialogue between North and South, supporting education and health initiatives, and enhancing international dialogue are among the issues that can make a positive contribution to solving the problem of terrorism. These are universally agreed issues.

At the national level, the Sudan has signed and ratified all the relevant international conventions

dealing with combating terrorism. It is also party to African and Arab regional conventions and participates actively in the efforts of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation aimed at fighting terrorism. We consider the Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy to be one of the most important legal frameworks governing and guiding the related regional and international institutions and laws. The counter-terrorism laws adopted by the Sudan in 2001 conform to the Strategy's principles, as does our 2010 anti-money-laundering law. Efforts are currently under way in my country to adopt relevant laws on nuclear energy, cyber crime and chemical materials, in accordance with the principles of the Strategy. In that connection, we would like to emphasize the Sudan's cooperation with the United Nations mechanisms in this area, as well as its commitment to submitting periodic reports in accordance with resolution 1373 (2001), in the framework of the efforts of the Counter-Terrorism Committee Executive Directorate.

The Sudan plays a leading role within the framework of the East African Community by hosting numerous seminars and conferences with a view to coordinating regional efforts to combat terrorism. The most recent meeting hosted by the Sudan was a conference of the Middle East and North Africa Financial Action Task Force, focused on combating terrorism financing and money laundering in the region. That conference was convened in the Sudan in April.

The efforts deployed by the African Union are acknowledged and welcomed, in particular those of the African Centre for Studies and Research on Terrorism, which is hosted by the friendly country of Algeria. By the same token, we welcome the efforts launched towards enacting a model law for Africa in the area of combatting terrorism, even if those efforts focused on the theoretical framework. My delegation would like to issue a call from this Chamber to support the efforts of the African Union and our States in the field of combatting terrorism at the capacity-building level, as well as the operational and logistical levels.

The efforts of the African Union and other regional African organizations have played an important role in containing the phenomenon of terrorism in cooperation with the Security Council and other States. What has been happening recently in the sisterly country of Mali is a case in point that highlights those efforts. We hope that Mali will emerge from its crisis stronger and less vulnerable.

In the post-colonial stage, Africa suffered the ravages of wars that weakened it and slowed its progress despite the natural wealth and resources it possesses. Terrorism and its promoters now represent a new threat to the security and renaissance of the continent. Africa's rich natural wealth makes the continent fertile ground for terrorist gangs from outside the continent that hide behind religious or ethnic conflict. That has led to interlinkages among those groups and rebel movements, which supply the former with weapons. Many parts of Africa have thus become theatres for terrorist activities by gangs and rebel movements.

There has been a series of criminal terrorist incidents in my country and neighbouring countries. Allow me to refer to the incidents of plundering, killing and pillaging perpetrated by the rebel movement known as the Sudanese Revolutionary Front in a number of the villages and cities north of Kordofan in my country — similar to atrocities carried out by the Lord's Resistance Army. I am also sad to convey to the Council news of the terrorist action perpetrated by terrorists against those who prefer to join the peace process. Yesterday, they killed Mr. Mohamed Bishr, leader of the Justice and Equality Movement peace faction, as well as a number of other leaders who had joined the call for peace. That incident was strongly condemned and deplored by the African Union. From this Chamber, we call upon the Security Council and the United Nations to condemn such terrorist acts.

My delegation emphasizes the need to respect the sovereignty of States and human rights in the context of combating terrorism, particularly for people who are chafing under the yoke of colonialism and occupation, as well as to respect their right to self-determination. We renew our rejection of the unilateral punitive measures taken by some States for political reasons against other States on the pretext of fighting terrorism. That gives rise to suffering and raises tensions in international relations.

In conclusion, we call for an intensification of international endeavours to arrive at a global international convention that specifies a just and clear-cut definition of terrorism.

The President (*spoke in French*): I now give the floor to the representative of Algeria.

Mr. Benmehidi (Algeria) (*spoke in French*): Algeria is honoured to take part in this very important debate tpresided over by His Excellency Mr. Faure Essozimna

Gnassingbé, President of the Togolese Republic. My delegation is pleased to have been able to listen to the points made in the important statement that he delivered at the opening of this debate. Allow me to also express my congratulations to the Permanent Mission of Togo for the very excellent and wise initiative of having organized, under its presidency, this high-level debate on the challenges of the fight against terrorism in Africa in the context of maintaining international peace and security.

(*spoke in English*)

Terrorism has been spreading dangerously in most of African subregions, through groups mainly structured around the Al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb, the Movement for Unity and Jihad in Western Africa, Boko Haram and Al-Shabaab. The Sahel subregion in particular hosts a narrow and increasingly systematic series of connections between terrorism and multiple forms of organized crime, including drug trafficking. That alarming situation should mobilize cooperation among African countries, regional and international organizations and other partners from the international community on both security and development aspects.

The legal and institutional framework to combat terrorism in Africa was put in place in anticipation years ago, in particular under the auspices of the African Union. Algeria took part in that process and was among the countries that played a pioneering role in that respect, as testified by the adoption in Algiers in July 1999 of the Organization of African Unity's Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism, which was followed by the establishment of implementing mechanisms and a plan of action adopted in Addis Ababa and Algiers.

Among the mechanisms created, it is worth noting the important work of the Centre for Studies and Research on Terrorism (ACSRT), the headquarters of which is in Algiers, which has made an important contribution, inter alia, to preparing an African draft model law to combat terrorism. ACSRT is an important partner of the United Nations entities in charge of the struggle against terrorism, including in strengthening African countries' national capacities and in coordinating and implementing subregional and regional projects.

The fight against terrorism cannot be effective without eliminating its underlying resources and disrupting all related criminal activities that are aimed at financing the crimes of terrorist groups. Within the framework of the African Union and the United Nations, Algeria has spared no effort to raise awareness of the dangers posed by hostage-taking and the payment of ransoms, as well as of the importance of fighting that scourge. Such criminal practices have provided terrorist groups with an important source of financing, which has enabled the expansion of their activities, as was recently seen in the events in the Sahel region.

My delegation's efforts within the United Nations have been geared to ensuring that provisions on that issue are included in General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. In that regard, we continue to encourage United Nations entities working under the auspices of the General Assembly to implement the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy, as well as those working under the Security Council to apply greater efforts and resources to tackling the issue.

Algeria is fully committed to regional cooperation in fighting the destabilization caused by terrorists and organized crime groups in the Sahel region. Our commitment is not new. As mentioned in the Togolese presidency's concept note (S/2013/264, annex), regional measures taken in Africa in that area were intended to be preventive and coordinated and to rely on multiple initiatives. In that spirit, the cooperation framework established by the countries of the region is an important milestone. It provides a forum for close and regular political consultation. Accordingly, the most recent meeting among Mali's neighbouring countries, held in Nouakchott on 17 March, enhanced coordination and the exchange of information, in particular on matters related to political, financial and logistical assistance for Mali, as well as border control issues. Other components of the cooperation whose mechanisms have already been implemented will need to be further developed in the future.

Algeria notes with satisfaction the tasks accomplished by the African-led International Support Mission in Mali pursuant to the provisions of resolution 2085 (2012), in particular the reduction of the threat of terrorist organizations, including Al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb, the Movement for Unity and Jihad in West Africa and Ansar Dine and associated extremist groups, and in support of recovery by the Malian authorities of areas under the control of those terrorist groups.

In conclusion, my delegation would like to highlight the important role played by the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolutions

1267 (1999) and 1989 (2011), concerning Al-Qaida and associated individuals and entities, which seeks to combat terrorist activities in Africa in close collaboration with Member States. The fruitful cooperation between Algeria and the Committee has resulted in the listing of individuals and entities. Noteworthy among recent additions is the Movement of Unity and Jihad in West Africa, a terrorist group that was added to the list upon the initiative of my delegation.

The President (*spoke in French*): I give the floor to the representative of Benin.

Mr. Zinsou (Benin) (*spoke in French*): First of all, Mr. President, on behalf of the President of the Republic of Benin, Mr. Boni Yayi, I would like to convey to you the congratulations of our Government on your country's assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. We were very happy with the choice of theme for today's debate, a topic that makes the issue of security in Africa a central concern on the international agenda. My delegation fully subscribes to the analysis contained in the concept note presented by Togo (S/2013/264, annex).

Owing to its many vulnerabilities, Africa has become a favourite target for terrorist entities operating under the cover of violent extremism and religious fanaticism and in collusion with global criminal networks seeking to set up sanctuaries on the African continent by destabilizing its countries. The phenomenon, which we have seen manifested in Mali, is liable to repeat itself in other places on the continent already under siege, given the adverse effects of the proliferation and illicit circulation of small arms and light weapons. The flood of dirty money, produced from all sorts of trafficking, further contributes to making States more fragile. The report of the Chairperson of the African Union Commission on terrorism and violent extremism in Africa, presented during the summit that was held in January, focuses on evidence of collusion between extremism and transnational crime in the various regions of the continent.

As a negation of the fundamental values of the free world, narco-terrorism must be fought with determination wherever it emerges. It is fortunate that the international community has correctly sized up the global nature of the challenge posed by the phenomenon in Africa and is doing what it can to put in place an effective partnership to eliminate it.

We reiterate our support for the operations launched by France and supported by Chad, which made it possible to save the Malian State and recover territories occupied by terrorists in the northern part of the country. The establishment of the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali will allow for integrated assistance for the rebirth of Mali. Benin is ready to make its modest contribution to the effort.

The situation that the international community had to face in Mali has shown the limits of the continental peace architecture for Africa. It also illustrated the obvious need to correct the situation, the reasoning for which emerged during the high-level thematic debate held in the General Assembly on 25 and 26 April.

Interregional compartmentalization, not only with respect to markets but also with respect to security, must be eliminated, so as to be able to conduct an integrated fight against the new threats. It is also necessary for international solidarity to be deeply involved, along with the meaningful implementation of the global strategy for the Sahel that is being developed. There should also be debt forgiveness measures, improved access to markets and support for the private sector and for the creation of businesses, in order to permit the establishment of sustainable peace and security in Africa. In that respect, we should emphasize that the resilience of individual States is an essential factor in combating terrorism. The global counter-terrorist machinery is as strong as its weakest link. Building national capacities is therefore vital.

There is an obvious correlation among the fragility of States, poverty, conflicts and terrorism. That is truly a challenge for Africa. It is from that perspective that the Security Council summit held on 14 September 2005 (see S/PV.5261) adopted two important resolutions. I am speaking of resolution 1624 (2005), on terrorism, which calls for a ban on terrorist propaganda, and resolution 1625 (2005), on conflict prevention, particularly in Africa, which advocates for the elimination of the underlying causes of conflict. Both resolutions are part of a complementary approach that must be maintained in the efforts that are currently under way.

Benin believes that combating terrorism, along with military measures and the provision of technical assistance appropriate for strengthening the security structures of States, must also include measures designed to promote sustainable development, eradicate poverty in all its forms, create jobs, fight hunger, empower women and create opportunities for

young people in order to save them from the allure of criminals. The success of the Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy depends on it.

The President (*spoke in French*): I now give the floor to the representative of Tanzania.

Mr. Manongi (United Republic of Tanzania): We thank your presidency of the Security Council, Sir, for proposing this important briefing on combating terrorism in Africa in the context of the maintenance of international peace and security.

No cause whatsoever justifies terrorism. The values of life, safety and security are values that terrorists do not share. Nonetheless, they are values shared by most States. Africa and its people are no exception. Terrorism is a threat to the values and humanity we all share, as well as to the development and prosperity we all want for our countries and peoples. It is a real and growing threat to peace and security. Its defeat is an imperative we must pursue. The Council's dynamism in this regard is highly commendable.

The concept note (S/2013/264, annex) for this briefing makes a pertinent observation. Terrorism in Africa is becoming more complex and transnational. Indeed, there are clear signs that Africa could become the epicentre of this global vice. Regardless of their purported objectives — political, religious, social or economic — the perpetrators of terrorism are only criminals. We must unite to fight them, and never must they be in doubt about our collective resolve to do so.

The activities of terrorist groups such as Al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb, Al-Shabaab, Boko Haram, Ansar Dine and the Movement for Unity and Jihad in West Africa are an affront to everything African. These groups and their sponsors demand urgent and undivided action on the part of the international community, including this Council.

In 1998, Kenya and Tanzania suffered coordinated terrorist attacks in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam. A few years later in 2001, New York was attacked in what is now known as the 9/11 tragedy. It was in that regard this Council adopted resolutions 1267 (1999) and 1373 (2001) to address the spectre. In the same manner, the General Assembly unanimously adopted the Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy in 2006 to guide our collective endeavours in the fight against terrorism. These and other national, subregional, regional and international instruments for fighting terrorism are essential tools. Their implementation is critical if we are to see any meaningful impact on the ground.

The Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy provides a practical framework for combating terrorism. It has to be complemented with adequate support and resources for the study of the root causes of terrorism, for it is only through proper diagnosis that can we apply appropriate tools in uprooting the scourge. This rationale has driven our support for a holistic approach in the implementation of the pillars of the Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy. In this regard, we see three critical aspects.

First, in any effort to address terrorism in Africa, we must not ignore the aspect of poverty. Its pervasiveness and spread throughout the continent offer breeding grounds for unrest, particularly in communities affected by the spectre of terrorism. Indeed, local and transnational terrorist organizations thrive in these conditions. Other potentially permissive and indirect causal factors of terrorism — such as rapid population growth, especially burgeoning male youth unemployment, urbanization, social inequality and exclusion, dispossession and political grievances — also need to be taken into account.

Secondly, our efforts to combat terrorism must go hand in hand with building strong partnerships at the national, regional and international levels. They are our best defence against extremism. In an increasingly complex and interconnected world, we can succeed only by working together in building strong and stable States with shared values of tolerance, mutual respect and commitment to the rule of law and democracy.

Thirdly, capacity — and institution-building must be central in our common endeavours. In Tanzania, the Government has put in place several mechanisms for combating terrorism, including the Prevention of Terrorism Act of 2002 and the Anti-Money Laundering Act of 2006, as well as the establishment of the National Counter-Terrorism Centre and the Financial Intelligence Unit. Our goal is to continue to strengthen our law enforcement and police capacities, improve aviation, maritime and border security, and combat money-laundering and terrorist financing. We wish in this regard to acknowledge the useful support we have received from bilateral and multilateral partners including the United Nations.

Regrettably, only recently we suffered another terrorist attack in Arusha, where three lives were lost and more than 40 persons injured. President Kikwete

reminded us that terrorism remains an enduring threat and that we can never relax our vigilance. Reports of another attack in Libya this afternoon are yet another reminder that we cannot let down our guard. It is in this sense that the United Republic of Tanzania remains steadfast in its resolve to fight terrorism in all its forms and manifestations, whenever and by whomsoever committed. We shall continue to use all tools at our disposal to succeed, including by building partnerships such as those only this Council can foster.

The President (*spoke in French*): There are no more names inscribed on the list of speakers. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 2.10 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.6966

Security Council

Sixty-eighth year

Provisional

6966th meeting
Tuesday, 14 May 2013, 10 a.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Menan	(Togo)
Members:	Argentina	Mrs. Perceval
	Australia	Ms. King
	Azerbaijan	Mr. Mehdiyev
	China	Mr. Wang Min
	France	Mr. Briens
	Guatemala	Mr. Rosenthal
	Luxembourg	Ms. Lucas
	Morocco	Mr. Loulichki
	Pakistan	Mr. Masood Khan
	Republic of Korea	Mr. Sul Kyung-hoon
	Russian Federation	Mr. Iliichev
	Rwanda	Mr. Nduhungirehe
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Tatham
	United States of America	Mrs. DiCarlo

Agenda

The situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Letter dated 3 May 2013 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2013/263)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room U-506.

13-33222 (E)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.10 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Letter dated 3 May 2013 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2013/263)

The President (*spoke in French*): In accordance with rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite the representatives of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia to participate in this meeting.

Under rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite His Excellency Mr. Valentin Inzko, High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina, to participate in this meeting.

Under rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite His Excellency Mr. Thomas Mayr-Harting, Head of the Delegation of the European Union to the United Nations, to participate in this meeting.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

I wish to draw the attention of Council members to document S/2013/263, which contains the text of a letter dated 3 May 2013 from the Secretary-General, transmitting the forty-third report of the High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina.

I now give the floor to Mr. Inzko.

Mr. Inzko: Allow me to begin by thanking the members of the Security Council for their continuing support and attention to Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The question of Bosnia and Herzegovina does not, fortunately, have the immediate security dimensions of the other issues that the Security Council is dealing with. But I am sure that the Council will agree with me that what happens to Bosnia and Herzegovina matters far beyond its borders. Bosnia and Herzegovina is a country that in so many ways has come to symbolize our shared commitment and quest for an integrated European continent rooted in lasting peace, stability, prosperity and tolerance. As we strive to achieve that vision, we should, of course, take pride in the progress that has been made in Bosnia and Herzegovina following the tragic wars of the 1990s. But we must also recognize that the job is not yet done and that our engagement remains essential if we are to safeguard the progress made thus far and build on it to reach our common goal.

I regret to inform the Council that in the six months since my previous report (S/2012/813), Bosnia and Herzegovina's political leaders have continued to fail the citizens of the country and fell short of the very limited expectations of the international community. As a result, the country has fallen further behind its neighbours as a region. Serbia and Kosovo are normalizing relations following a historic deal negotiated by the European Union's (EU) foreign policy chief, Baroness Ashton, and Serbia appears poised to open accession talks with the European Union.

Croatia is now just seven weeks away from full membership, having served as a shining example to others in the region of what can be achieved if change is delivered through reform. Montenegro's progress is also impressive. The region is moving on, and, in seven weeks, Bosnia and Herzegovina will have 1,000 kilometres of common borders with the European Union.

Meanwhile, regrettably, Bosnia and Herzegovina is stagnating. Year after year it is let down by its political leaders, who continue to fail to reach the healthy compromises that are necessary to meet the requirements of Euro-Atlantic integration and to tackle the very serious economic and social challenges facing the country - all this despite the very generous, progressive and reinforced engagement of the EU on the ground. I should to like mention in particular the tireless efforts of European Union Special Representative Peter Sørensen.

The sad reality of Bosnia's politics was brought home again in April, when the country's leaders failed to reach agreement on the implementation of a key ruling from the European Court of Human Rights that would unlock the next stage in the EU integration process. In that regard, I should like to ask the political leaders: what should have been easier to solve — the implementation of the Sejdić-Finci human rights ruling, or the historic issue of Serbia and Kosovo?

A similar dynamic has played out over the past two years with regard to the country's NATO aspirations, where little concrete progress has been reached to register military property in the name of the State,

the requirement to unlock the country's entry into the Alliance's membership action plan. Both tasks are simple and straightforward, involve little or no material cost and could be achieved within days with a minimum of political courage and an understanding that reaching healthy compromises through political dialogue is a win-win situation for all involved. Yet the zero-sum approach to politics continues unabated year after year.

That approach must change, and it must change now if the next 16 months are not to be lost to unproductive election campaigning.

Before reviewing the main political developments of the last six months from the perspective of my mandate, I want to make clear in no uncertain terms that the fundamental reason for the country continuing to lag behind its neighbours is the fact that elected officials and political parties continue to put their own narrow personal and party political interests before the interests of the citizens and the country at large.

The fact that the pull of Euro-Atlantic integration processes has so far not proved strong enough to overcome this should be of concern to all of us and cause for serious reflection on the elements of our united strategy moving forward.

Turning now to the political developments of the last six months, it is the deepening political and constitutional crisis in the Federation, linked to a new parliamentary majority being formed in this entity, that has dominated events. Despite its majority, the new coalition, which has a clear and legitimate right to seek to reshuffle the Government, has not been able to remove the existing Government, as some parties have used constitutional blocking mechanisms that are actually designed to protect the rights of constituent peoples to block the adoption of a no-confidence vote. The crisis is further complicated by the fact that the institution responsible for resolving the blockage — the so-called Vital National Interest Panel of the Federal Constitutional Court — does not function due the four-and-a-half year failure of the competent authorities to appoint missing judges to the Panel.

As if these developments were not a serious enough distraction from the pressing difficulties facing the authorities in the Federation, the President of the Federation was arrested on 26 April and remains in detention.

The smooth reshuffling of the Republika Srpska Government in March stands in sharp contrast to the situation in the Federation. The ruling coalition in Republika Srpska elected a new Prime Minister and replaced a number of ministers, seemingly in response to a worsening economic situation, which included public sector strikes. In contrast with the Federation Government, the Republika Srpska Government has continued to meet regularly as it seeks to tackle the many economic and social challenges it is facing.

However, from the point of view of the mandate given to me under the Dayton Peace Agreement and reflected in successive Security Council resolutions, I remain deeply concerned about fundamental challenges to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina coming from some representatives of Republika Srpska, including entity President Dodik. Six months ago, I signaled that the issue of growing advocacy for the dissolution of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Republika Srpska officials deserved the special attention of the international community. My assessment in this regard has not changed. Statements made and actions taken during the reporting period, which are catalogued in my report, have in my view represented a continuation of this worrisome policy.

Just last month and again a few days ago, the Republika Srpska President said that Bosnia and Herzegovina "has absolutely no possibility to survive" and described Bosnia and Herzegovina as a

> "sufferer on its last breath, into whom the international community is still throwing capsules of oxygen claiming that it has to survive".

This is just one of many such statements cited in my report, and they have continued since this reporting period ended. Also symbolic of the retrograde politics that continues to prevail, statements denying that genocide was committed in Srebrenica have also continued.

In sharp contrast, Serbia's President Tomislav Nikolić, Prime Minister Dačić and Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandar Vučić, expressing the sentiments of the Belgrade authorities, have in recent weeks shown the kind of political leadership that is worthy of the highest praise. When President Nikolić explicitly apologized for Srebrenica and other war crimes committed by individuals in the name of the Serbian State or people, he took a courageous step towards regional reconciliation that, if followed up, could open

the way to further improvements in relations between Sarajevo and Belgrade.

It is also worth noting that, upon the initiative of Turkey, a meeting is taking place today between the Presidents of Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Turkey. Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu came personally to Sarajevo last week to prepare that historic meeting. These efforts are extremely important not only to regional cooperation, but also to regional reconciliation. Of course, they enjoy my full support.

In general, I also remain concerned about a pattern of disregard for the rule of law that has emerged over the past couple of years, not least in the Federation. For this reason, I submitted a special report to the Steering Board of the Peace Implementation Council on the rule of law in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The ongoing failure of local institutions to implement the November 2010 Bosnia and Herzegovina Constitutional Court decision on Mostar's electoral system is a case in point and represents a violation of the Peace Agreement, which states that decisions of the Court shall be final and binding. As a result, residents of Mostar were unable to vote in the 2012 local elections. The two largest parties in Mostar bear most responsibility for the failure to reach an agreement, and I expect these two parties to start compromising. Perhaps not surprisingly, given the overall climate, the Bosnia and Herzegovina authorities again failed to make concrete progress on the outstanding objectives set by the Steering Board of the Peace implementation Council as prerequisites for closure of the Office of the High Representative.

Not all the news has been bad. I have already mentioned some positive aspects coming out of Republika Srpska. Additionally, the State-level Council of Ministers, which underwent a party reshuffle in November, has met regularly. The State budget for 2013 was adopted on time, for the first time in two years. In general, however, the State-level coalitions have so far been unable to deliver much needed progress on the legislative front.

A stable security situation is the starting point for everything else, and through their continued presence the European Union and NATO military missions in Bosnia and Herzegovina have both continued to reassure citizens that the country remains safe and secure, despite the difficult political situation and at a time when senior politicians have repeatedly and openly called the future of the country into question. In advance of the Security Council's deliberations in November, I would like to take this opportunity to express my strong belief that the presence of the European Union military mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina under its existing mandate is essential to support ongoing international community efforts and my ability to fulfil my civilian mandate.

Bosnia and Herzegovina's political leaders and the parties they represent are faced with a choice that is growing increasingly stark with each passing day. There can be no more excuses and there is no place for them to hide from their responsibilities. The choice is simple. They can succeed together or they can fail together. I know them all. I know that they can do much better, and I call on them from this most distinguished of stages to show the courage to finally reach the healthy compromises that will enable the country to progress.

For our part we must continue to assist those in Bosnia and Herzegovina who want the country to progress, while also standing firm against all those who seek to reopen the wounds of the past. Bosnia and Herzegovina can go forward only if it looks forward and not backwards. Accordingly, I hope that when I report to the Council in six months that we can look forward to a 2014 full of progress and not of deepening crisis. For Bosnia and Herzegovina, we need not only the continuous attention of the international community, but also patience and a long-term approach. New generations are arising and ready to commit themselves to that wonderful country.

The President (*spoke in French*): I thank Mr. Inzko for his briefing.

I shall now give the floor to the members of the Council.

Mr. Loulichki (Morocco) (*spoke in French*): I am especially pleased to be first on the list of speakers on the subject of today's debate, and all the more so because I spent several years in Bosnia and Herzegovina. I saw the people of that country suffer. I saw them regain hope and confidence. And, immediately following the trauma of war and the destruction that it produced, I saw a country imbued with promise and tolerance and willing to put aside the past and hope for a better life.

I would like to thank Mr. Valentin Inzko, High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina, for introducing his semi-annual report on the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina (S/2013/263, annex). The overall impression one comes away with from the report is one of political stalemate and an entrenchment of positions on the part of Federation partners. That has

resulted in a deterioration of the situation and creates the danger of the disintegration of the institutions put in place by the Dayton Agreement. The Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina continues to experience a constitutional and political crisis at the federal and cantonal levels. That is undermining the cohesion and sovereignty of the country while endangering its territorial integrity and delaying its Euro-Atlantic integration.

On the political front, the report refers to the political power struggle that has characterized political life in Bosnia and Herzegovina and led to paralysis in the functioning of the Federation's institutions, in particular its Constitutional Court, which is so crucial for ensuring respect for the rule of law. The nationalist rhetoric and provocative statements with regard to Bosnia's institutions, as well as unilateral actions, are weakening the very foundations of the Federation and jeopardizing 17 years of painstaking achievements in building on the arrangements produced by the Dayton Agreement. At the same time, Bosnia and Herzegovina has been unable to make progress in meeting the five objectives and two conditions required in order to proceed to close the Office of the High Representative, in particular when it comes to the issue of property and the Brcko district.

Those negative trends have a direct impact on people's daily lives, as well as on improving their social and living conditions. Far from serving the long-term interests of any constituent part of the Federation, this situation is damaging to all communities in that it serves to emphasize differences, pit the various interests against one another and erode the prospects for much-desired national reconciliation.

Given that scenario, which is worrying in many ways, the holding of regular sessions of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the adoption of several budgetary and defence policy decisions, the holding of regular Council of Ministers meetings, the implementation of the results of local elections of October 2012, and the symbolic election of the first non-Bosniak mayor of Sarajevo are all reasons for hope. Those developments show that the path of compromise is viable, so long as there is political will and the rule of law is respected.

Bosnia and Herzegovina is a country that emerged from a long and painful conflict that struck the conscience of the international community and permanently marked the people of this friendly country. The Dayton Agreement, which was the outcome of a historic compromise, needs to be preserved and strengthened, not weakened or made to fail. We hope that all members of the Federation can resist the temptation of, and attempts at, unilateralism. We also hope that they will relaunch a responsible political dialogue in order to continue to build today and to construct a common future. Clearly, that is in the interests of all communities that make up Bosnia and Herzegovina, just as it is in the interest of the stability of the entire region.

Mr. Rosenthal (Guatemala) (*spoke in Spanish*): We welcome Mr. Valentin Inzko, High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina. We also take note of the presentation of his report (S/2013/263, annex), which we listened to with concern owing to the lack of progress reported in the period under consideration. We would like to make five comments with regard to the report.

First, we reiterate our support for the Dayton Agreement and for the protection and preservation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina. We believe that it is crucially important for the political leaders and the international presence to continue to focus on observing the balance created by that Agreement and the follow-on political structures.

Secondly, with regard to my previous point, we continue to be disturbed by the pitch and level of negative rhetoric on the part of certain leaders against the Dayton Agreement and the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina. We are especially concerned because those words are accomopanied by efforts to undermine, and in certain cases even to disrupt, the functioning of the Federation and its institutions. In spite of the Constitutional crisisi and the stalemate in the current situation, we welcome the fact that the 2013 State budget has been adopted. We also view positively the fact that the State Council of Ministers has been able to meet regularly. Moreover, we emphasize the need to resume dialogue among political parties, especially in order to make progress on the legislative front.

Thirdly, we are concerned at the ongoing situation in Mostar, where it has not been possible to hold elections for local authorities as was done in the rest of the country on 7 October 2012, owing to the failure to implement the ruling of Bosnia and Herzegovina's Constitutional Court. We hope that the multiparty facilitation process will lead to resolving the situation and mitigating tensions. In that regard, we also hope

that that important step will be the basis for tangible progress and the transformation into a stable and democratic country.

Fourthly, it is unfortunate that, during the period covered by the report, the authorities of Bosnia and Herzegovina were unable to make any concrete progress with regard to the pending objectives set by the Steering Board of the Peace Implementation Council as prerequisites for the closure of the Office of the High Representative. We look forward with interest to the outcome of the Board's upcoming meetings, on 22 and 23 May. We hope that the Board will be able to come up with specific recommendations on the way ahead.

Fifthly, we recall the implementation of the ruling against Bosnia and Herzegovina of the European Court of Human Rights in the *Sejdić-Finci* case. We underscore the importance of protecting the rights of ethnic minorities, and hence the implementation of this important ruling.

The report illustrates that, however good the intentions and support of the international community, they alone will not lead to progress. In that regard, we agree with High Representative Inzko that respect for the Dayton Agreement — and in particular for the constitutional framework and the rule of law — is both a crucial prerequisite and a tool for achieving long-term stability in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is now up to the authorities and political parties to do their part.

Mrs. DiCarlo (United States of America): It is my pleasure to welcome High Representative Inzko back to the Security Council, and to thank him for his comprehensive briefing and his continued efforts to support the Dayton Peace Agreement.

The United States is steadfast in its commitment to the success of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and we, like our allies, have invested much in that country since the signing of the Dayton Peace Agreement in 1995. As we reflect on the report presented today (S/2013/263, annex) and on the goodwill we have towards Bosnia and Herzegovina, we wish to address three points.

First, we continue to strongly support the country's aspirations to integrate into the European Union (EU) and NATO, and we had hoped that the new coalition would make those goals its top priorities. Unfortunately, politicians throughout the country seem more interested in putting their own personal political agendas above the interests of the citizens they were elected to represent. In the Federation entity, ongoing efforts to reshuffle the governing coalition have distracted from the Euro-Atlantic reform agenda. The 2009 judgement of the European Court of Human Rights in the *Sejdić-Finci* case remains unimplemented, violating the human rights of non-constituent peoples and blocking the country from applying for EU candidacy. Unless the issue is resolved soon, Bosnia and Herzegovina risks holding elections next year in violation of the judgement. And the country must still register defence properties in order to meet NATO's condition for activating the membership action plan, a process that is being obstructed by politicians in Republika Srpska. Bosnia and Herzegovina's lack of progress is all the more visible in the context of its neighbours, all of which are rapidly moving ahead towards Euro-Atlantic integration.

Secondly, it has been more than five long years since the Peace Implementation Council Steering Board adopted the five objectives and two conditions for the closure of the Office of the High Representative. The so-called "5+2" consists of issues that the Office of the High Representative is uniquely qualified and authorized to oversee, and which the political leaders of Bosnia and Herzegovina could easily have completed in 2008, propelling the State on its way to EU and NATO membership. Instead, a number of political leaders have focused their energies on deconstructing or undermining Dayton and the various institutions and laws established since 1995 that Bosnia and Herzegovina needs both for the people's common good and for functioning as part of a modern Europe.

The local authorities have a legal obligation to respect the authority of the High Representative and the Dayton framework. Yet, Republika Srpska officials have persistently undermined State institutions and made statements calling into question Bosnia and Herzegovina's sovereignty and territorial integrity. In the Federation, local parties in Mostar have failed to meet their obligation to implement the Constitutional Court ruling of 10 November 2011 on the electoral system. Those actions disregard the most fundamental elements of the Bosnian Constitution and the Dayton Agreement. They must cease immediately. The continuing threats to the Dayton Peace Accords are why we continue to support the presence of the Office of the High Representative until the 5+2 criteria have been met. It is crucial that the Office continue to receive sufficient resources and political support to fulfil its

mandate under both the Dayton Peace Agreement and the relevant Security Council resolutions.

Finally, I would like to highlight the continuing importance of justice and reconciliation to long-term regional stability, particularly in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We join the High Representative in recognizing President Nikolić of Serbia for his recent public apology for the crimes committed in Srebrenica. We strongly support the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia as it continues its crucial work in bringing to justice those individuals responsible for some of the most heinous crimes of the Bosnian conflict. The January signing of a protocol on war crimes cooperation between Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia is another positive development that will help ensure that locally indicted war crime suspects face justice.

Other local developments related to reconciliation, however, are more troubling. We are particularly concerned about the continued efforts to build an Orthodox church in close proximity to both an exhumed mass grave and the Potočari memorial site and cemetery, where thousands of victims of the Srebrenica genocide are laid to rest. The United States strongly supports freedom of religion, but the construction of a church in such a sensitive location, where there is no local Orthodox community, can only be interpreted as a deliberate provocation designed to deepen mistrust and fear between ethnic groups.

I again want to stress the strong commitment of the United States to seeing Bosnia and Herzegovina move beyond its troubled past towards a thriving future. We look forward to working with the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the international community to see the Dayton Peace Agreement fully implemented and the country moving irreversibly towards its Euro-Atlantic path.

Ms. Lucas (Luxembourg) (*spoke in French*): I join the speakers before me in thanking Mr. Valentin Inzko, High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina, for his briefing and his commitment to that country.

Luxembourg associates itself with the statement to be made by the observer of the European Union.

The High Representative has painted a somewhat gloomy picture of the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The political crisis at the Federation level continues to obstruct essential reforms. The country's unity and territorial integrity are still not subject to full consensus within political circles and have been called into question in some disturbing separatist rhetoric. The country is also dealing with a difficult socioeconomic situation. In the absence of a shared vision for their country's future, Bosnia and Herzegovina's leaders have failed to launch the reforms necessary for achieving their self-imposed goals regarding European and Euro-Atlantic integration.

That said, not all the news is bad, as the High Representative notes in his forty-third report to the Security Council (S/2013/263, annex) and as he recalled this morning. We welcome the fact that the State-level Council of Ministers, which was reshuffled in November, is meeting regularly. It is also noteworthy that the State budget for 2013 was adopted on time for the first time in two years.

Moreover, we see that the security situation has remained calm and stable. Since its establishment in 2004, the European Union-led force Operation Althea has never had to intervene to restore peace, since the Bosnian authorities themselves have been able to deal with potential security threats. Against this backdrop, Operation Althea was reconfigured in September. We welcome the fact that since then the force's efforts have been chiefly focused on capacity-building and training, while retaining the means to contribute to the Bosnian authorities' capacity for deterrent.

Luxembourg welcomes the increased political presence of the European Union on the ground since September 2011 and the strengthened mandate of its Special Representative and Head of Delegation in Sarajevo, Mr. Peter Sørensen, which testify to the European Union's continued willingness to help Bosnia and Herzegovina do a better job in moving forward with its programme of reform towards stability, development and integration with the European Union.

Now that Croatia will be joining the European Union in a few weeks and relations between Serbia and Kosovo are normalizing, thanks to the dialogue facilitated by the European Union, we, like the High Representative, are concerned about the fact that Bosnia and Herzegovina is lagging behind compared with its neighbours. We take this opportunity to encourage the political leaders to overcome their differences and to implement the reforms needed for progress in the country. It is most urgent to implement the judgement of the European Court of Human Rights in the *Sejdić-Finci vs. Bosnia and Herzegovina* case

regarding the rights of minorities to be elected to the Bosnian Presidency and the House of Peoples of the Bosnian Parliament. We regret that fact that, despite the facilitation of the European Union, the political leaders did not succeed in reaching an agreement on this issue by the deadline of 11 April.

Allow me to conclude by reaffirming our profound conviction that the future of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a united, stable and multi-ethnic country lies steadfastly within a European context. That is, moreover, the wish of the vast majority of the Bosnian population. For its part, as a member of the European Union and an elected member of the Security Council, Luxembourg will spare no effort in encouraging the leaders of Bosnia and Herzegovina to meet the aspirations of their citizens by overcoming the current stalemate and taking the decisions needed to truly take the destiny of their country into their own hands.

Mr. Iliichev (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): We listened carefully to the statement of High Representative Inzko. His report to the Security Council (S/2013/263, annex) is informative and detailed, but unfortunately it is far from an objective analysis of the true situation in the country and suffers from bias in its criticism of the Bosnian Serbian leaders. So as to obtain a more objective idea of the situation in Bosnia and the processes there, we recommend that members of the Council also read the ninth report of Republika Srpska to the Secretary-General and the Security Council, in which the commitment of the Bosnian Serbians to international law and the spirit of Dayton is absolutely clear.

We agree that the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina continues to worsen. However, the reason for yet another crisis at the State level is hardly to be found in the rhetoric of the leaders of Republika Srpska. Of true concern is the exacerbation of antagonism between the two primary Bosnian parties. The effectiveness of the intra-Bosnian dialogue has been undermined, creating complications for the central Bosnian institutions. Indeed, the Government of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina is indeed paralysed. The recent detention of its President on charges of corruption illustrates the further exacerbation of the political crisis in the Croatian-Muslim entities against the backdrop of tensions between Bosniaks and Croatians.

We are seriously concerned by the inflammatory rhetoric of the Bosniaks. How else can we characterize allegations that Republika Srpska arose solely as a result of ethnic cleansing and war crimes? We are concerned to note a significant rise in Islamist radicalism in the Federation.

Unlike that in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the situation in Republika Srpska is on the whole stable. Its political forces continue to cooperate successfully in Bosnian affairs on the basis of an approach that upholds the Dayton Agreement and the national interests of the Bosnian Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Its Government has insisted on the need for an agreement to be reached in Bosnia and Herzegovina on reform in the country, refraining from violations of consensus, including when taking decision on political matters. Unless these principles are upheld, the existence of Bosnia and Herzegovina will be impossible.

Russia supports the territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina and hopes to see its institutions function on a sound basis, with equal footing for the three constituent peoples of the State, in line with the Dayton Agreement. One important task for the international community at this stage of the Bosnian process would be to hand over responsibility for the future of the country to the Bosnians themselves. In that regard, we advocate the abolition of the Office of the High Representative and a return to efforts to achieve agreement on the "5+2" programme set by the Peace Implementation Council Steering Board.

We are convinced that the residual issues in that framework and any other matters vital to the future of the country should be resolved by Bosnians themselves through agreement among all three constituent peoples of the Bosnia and Herzegovina: Bosniaks, Serbians and Croatians. In that context, we support the principled position regarding the inadmissibility of outside intervention in the internal negotiating process in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Any outside support to a single side would undermine the delicate political balance in the country.

We oppose a resumption of the activities of the Office of the High Representative in the European integration agenda for Bosnia and Herzegovina. The right to define their future integration and to breathe new energy into the reform process is proper to Bosnians themselves.

We caution the High Representative against using the obsolete Bonn emergency powers, which have only

exacerbated situations that were already negative in Bosnia and Herzegovina over the past year. A striking example of this was the removal in March 2011 of the procedural obstacles to the establishment of guiding bodies in the Federation without the leading Croatian parties. That is, to a large extent, the reason why the crisis remains unabated today.

We feel that decisions on key matters in the settlement of the situation should be taken on the basis of the internationally agreed format emanating from the Security Council and the Peace Implementation Council Steering Board.

There is a clear need for the Office of the High Representative to work more actively to lift sanctions imposed on Bosnian officials, primarily Serbians, due to allegations of their having assisted suspects of the International Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia. This process continues to move at a snail's pace. I recall that over the past six months, restrictions were lifted only with respect to one individual and continue to be applied to three out of approximately a dozen others.

The High Representative, together with the Steering Committee, should consider appropriate steps towards the final closure of the frozen international supervisory regime in Brčko and the Arbitral Tribunal.

As a step in the drawdown of the Office of the High Representative, we support a scaling up of the European Union mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In that context, we support a clear division of labour between the High Representative and the European Union Special Representative, and strict compliance with their mandates so as to avoid any duplication. While we do not contribute to the European Union-led force Operation Althea in Bosnia and Herzegovina, we do support its tasks of ensuring security in Bosnia and Herzegovina and training personnel of the national Ministry of Defence and armed forces.

We should like to touch specifically on the matter of international reconciliation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We support an impartial investigation of all crimes committed from 1992 to 1995. At the moment, the cases being considered before either the International Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia or within the Bosnia and Herzegovina judicial system are clearly biased; they tend to deal only with allegations against Serbians. We question the demonstrative disengagement of the Chief Prosecutor of The Hague Tribunal from contact with organizations of relatives of Serbian and Croatian victims of the crisis in Yugoslavia.

We attached great importance to the collective efforts to enhance the comprehensive inter-Bosian dialogue, free from outside intervention, regarding consultative options for socioeconomic and structural reform, in keeping with the Dayton Agreement and mechanisms. We recognize the importance of amending the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina following the decision of the European Court of Human Rights in the *Sejdić-Finci vs. Bosnia and Herzegovina* case. We are convinced that compromise in that respect is possible and must be sought through continued dialogue. However, we cannot agree with the broad interpretation of the views of the Court on the use of that decision as a pretext to impose a review of all of Dayton provisions.

Mr. Mehdiyev (Azerbaijan): At the outset, I would like to thank Mr. Valentin Inzko, High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina, for presenting the forty-third report on the implementation of the Peace Agreement on Bosnia and Herzegovina (S/2013/263, annex).

We note that the security situation in the country continued to remain stable. Among achievements registered during the reporting period were regular meetings of the State-level Council of Ministers, the timely adoption of the State budget for 2013, and continued cooperation with the International Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia. We also note the efforts made to address the needs of displaced persons in the country and finding durable housing solutions for them in a more coordinated way. However, according to the report, the unfortunate dynamic — a reverse of progress and a return to the prevailing negative trends of the previous six years — continued during the reporting period. As a result, no concrete progress has been made towards meeting the outstanding objective for the closure of the Office of the High Representative.

The political consensus has been undermined by deepening divisions among political parties and the protracted power struggle at the federation and cantonal levels. We are alarmed by the continuation of direct and open challenges to the fundamentals of the Dayton Peace Agreement, including in particular the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Azerbaijan condemns divisive rhetoric advocating the dissolution of the State and any action or attempt to challenge the functionality of the State and its constitutional responsibilities. We would like to emphasize in that regard that neither the General Framework Agreement for Peace nor general international law contain any provision invoking the claimed right to self-determination for the purpose of unilateral secession from, or dissolution of, the State. Obviously, attempts to negate or challenge vital aspects of the Peace Agreement and to undermine the unity of Bosnia and Herzegovina require special attention by the international community. We agree with the High Representative that abiding by the Dayton Agreement, in particular the constitutional framework and the rule of law, is a prerequisite for long-term stability.

The economic and social situation in the country continued to weaken during the reporting period, with a decrease in exports, imports and industrial production and an increase in the foreign trade deficit and unemployment. It is therefore critical that all political factions in Bosnia and Herzegovina focus on the country's economic and development priorities. There is also a need for redoubled efforts to address and resolve long-outstanding humanitarian issues, in particular those related to property, and to ensure that the rights of returnees are fully guaranteed and implemented. We call on all parties in Bosnia and Herzegovina to engage in constructive dialogue with a view to addressing the pressing challenges, overcoming the political stalemate and strengthening the stability and unity of the country. It is also important that the Security Council and the broader international community continue to support progress towards stability and development in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the efforts of the country's political leadership to that end.

Mr. Sul Kyung-hoon (Republic of Korea): At the outset, I join others in welcoming Mr. Valentin Inzko to the Council. We appreciate his concise and pointed briefing.

We would like to offer some observations on the challenges that lie ahead for Bosnia and Herzegovina.

First, while we welcome the relatively calm and stable security environment in the country, it is disappointing that there still remain major challenges arising from the power struggle and lack of trust among political actors. The cautious optimism that prevailed early last year quickly turned into disappointment and frustration. The Government coalition, which was formed after six months of twists and turns, has proved to be short-lived. The protracted power struggle among political parties is still impeding the Government from working on pressing issues such as constitutional reform.

It is worrisome that the rule of law has been similarly undermined by political instability. The rule of law is a prerequisite for democracy and a central component of long-term peace and security. In the light of that, we remain deeply concerned that political leaders casually violate the law for their own purposes and repeatedly fail to implement the decisions of the Bosnia and Herzegovina Constitutional Court. The deadlock on the appointment of the remaining judges to the Federation Constitutional Court is also a serious source of concern. We urge all the political stakeholders to engage in constructive political dialogue and to respect the Constitution and the procedures established by the law so that the Government can fully function and perform its responsibility under the Constitution.

Secondly, Another worrisome trend is the growing open advocacy for the dissolution of Bosnia and Herzegovina. As the High Representative elaborated in his report (S/2013/263, annex), there have been distressingly high levels of provocative rhetoric from the leadership of the Republika Srpska, challenging the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Such nationalistic rhetoric will only serve to inflame ethnic tensions. We call on leaders from all parties to refrain from divisive rhetoric, which only undermines national reconciliation and the prospects for long-term stability.

The political instability in Bosnia and Herzegovina brings me to my third point, that is, the importance of national ownership. Despite years of international support, we are still witnessing a continuing political crisis, and little progress has been made on national reconciliation. I believe that that can largely be attributed to the lack of ownership on the part of political stakeholders. No democratic process is sustainable in the absence of a meaningful degree of political ownership and national reconciliation. In that vein, we would like to encourage the authorities of Bosnia-Herzegovina to further strengthen their efforts to promote the value of tolerance and inter-ethnic understanding through multi-ethnic education and confidence-building measures. Enhancing the engagement of civil society will also be crucial in ensuring accountable, responsive and democratic governance.

Civil society can play a pivotal role by holding political leaders and representatives more accountable. In that regard, the Republic of Korea encourages the High Representative to redouble his efforts to build the capacity of grassroots civil society organizations. Finally, we absolutely share with the High Representative the idea that we need to pay continuous attention to Bosnia and Herzegovina's progress, with patience and a long-term approach. In that regard, we would like to express our full support for the efforts of the High Representative.

Mr. Briens (France) (*spoke in French*): I thank Mr. Valentin Inzko, High Representative for Bosnia-Herzegovina, for his briefing.

I associate myself with the statement to be made by the observer of the European Union.

The security situation on the ground has remained calm and stable — something for which Bosnia and Herzegovina's institutions have been fully responible. That has been the state of affairs for several years, and we should welcome it.

However, the succession of political crises — for months at a time at the central level, and now at the Federation level — and the continuing tension between the political representatives of communities paralyse the country and are of concern to us. Those incessant clashes divert Bosnian authorities from the goal of Euro-Atlantic integration. We particularly regret that in the light of the fact that other States of the region are about to reach historical milestones in that process or have demonstrated their ability to commit to dialogue and compromise in order to give themselves the opportunity to make progress towards the European perspective.

We therefore call once again on the Bosnian Government to undertake the reforms expected of it, first and foremost with regard to bringing the Constitution in line with the ruling of the European Court of Human Rights in the *Sejdić-Finci* case. That is a crucial element for progress towards European integration and resolving the issue of the apportionment of defence and State property. However, it is also essential to improve the functioning and effectiveness of institutions, starting with the establishment of a coordination mechanism on European issues. We remain attached to the prospect of seeing Bosnia and Herzegovina join the European Union as a united and sovereign country enjoying full territorial integrity. However, a country under trusteeship and deeply divided cannot as such belong to the European Union. It rests with the Bosnians and their leaders to find an historic compromise that would allow Bosnia and Herzegovina to develop institutions that function effectively, which clearly would not allow the prevailing exploitation of the institutional framework inherited from the Dayton Agreement.

We welcome the ongoing reconfiguration of the international presence in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which is a harbinger of opportunity and an illustration of the leading role that the European Union can and should play in the country, in accordance with the European vision offered to Bosnia and Herzegovina. The European Union is stepping up its political, humane and financial commitment to the country. The Office of the Special Representative of the European Union has been considerably strengthened in its regional presence and the rule of law. Mr. Peter Sørensen, Special Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina and Head of the Delegation of the European Union to Bosnia and Herzegovina, enjoys our full support.

The reconfiguration of the European Union-led force Operation Althea (EUFOR Althea), resulting from a calm and stable environment, has made it possible to reduce the forces stationed there to 600 persons and to focus them on capacity-building and training. The Security Council must acknowledge that change, the nature of EUFOR Althea in the autumn, when it scrutinizes the role of the mission. EUFOR Althea still has a residual executive mandate to support the abilities of the country's authorities to maintain security as the situation may require.

The Bosnian authorities have always been able to ensure security, and therefore do not need the European military presence for that purpose, as is regularly recalled in the reports of the Operation Commander. The activities of EUFOR Althea in its drawdown phase must continue to complement those of other actors on the ground, particularly the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), which has deployed its second largest mission covering a broad range of activities, such as governance, the rule of law, respect for human rights and the management of arms stocks and munitions surpluses. In that area, the OSCE should retain the leading role; a proliferation of actors would be counterproductive.

The reconfiguration of the Office of the High Representative is being considered, including by the European Union, which I would remind the Council

contributes more than 53 per cent to the budget of the Office. These considerations do not reflect a positive assessment of the political situation; quite the opposite, continuing political difficulties require us to rethink and adjust our strategy. Maintaining at any price an approach dating from the 1990s does not serve Bosnia and Herzegovina. We would like to reduce the Office to a scale consonant with its residual responsibilities by strengthening its transparency and complementary nature with the Office of the EU. The current Government crisis reminds us that it is high time to change our approach to ensure that Bosnian politicians shoulder their responsibilities. When they do, the role of the High Representative must be strictly limited to the essential core of his mission within the framework of the civil tranche of the Dayton Peace Agreement.

Mr. Tatham (United Kingdom): I would like to thank the High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina, Mr. Valentin Inzko, for joining us in the Council today. I would also like to join others in our appreciation of his work and his latest report. His detailed and objective analysis of the worsening political situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina makes for sobering reading. I wish to convey the United Kingdom's support for the High Representative and his continued commitment to the implementation of the Dayton Peace Agreement in that context.

The United Kingdom shares the High Representative's frustration and concern at the continuing lack of political will to deliver crucial reforms in Bosnia and Herzegovina since his last appearance before the Council (see S/PV.6860). We deeply regret that Bosnia and Herzegovina's leaders were unable to seize an important opportunity this year to make tangible progress towards joining the European Union (EU) and NATO. The United Kingdom has been a consistent supporter of Bosnia and Herzegovina's Euro-Atlantic ambitions and continues to believe that EU and NATO membership remain the strongest way to ensure the security, stability and territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In July, one of Bosnia and Herzegovina's neighbours, Croatia, will join the European Union. There is a lesson here that determined and strategic commitment to the accession process and to related reforms yields results. Reform progress carries aspirant countries forward on the path of European integration. Journeys that seem long and distant in their early stages can end up being completed. But that happens only when politicians act decisively and strategically, when they commit themselves to the goal of European Union membership, and when they make sustained efforts to implement the necessary reforms. What we have seen in Bosnia and Herzegovina over the reporting period is that yet again personal and political interests have been prioritized over the needs and ambitions of ordinary citizens, leaving the country to fall farther behind its neighbours on the EU track.

We still hope that Bosnia and Herzegovina will be able to make progress towards the European Union this year and to bring its Stabilization and Association Agreement into force. But the ball is in its court. As the High Representative notes in his report (S/2013/263*), the European Union has already provided generous support to help facilitate a solution to the European Court of Human Rights Sejdić-Finci ruling, which remains the sole obstacle to Bosnia and Herzegovina's Stabilization and Association Agreement. That the political parties were unable to agree to a deal in spite of that support was deeply disappointing. Unless Bosnia and Herzegovina's governing institutions act quickly and decisively to remedy the situation and find a solution, that has all but ended their chances of submitting a credible membership application this year.

We are disappointed also by the failure to complete the registration of defence property that continues to hamper implementation of Bosnia and Herzegovina's NATO membership action plan, in spite of assurances made by party leaders to NATO Secretary-General Rasmussen during his visit in February. We urge them to fullfil their commitment to the March 2012 agreement. We share the High Representative's concern and condemnation of those in Republika Srpska who continue to advocate the dissolution of Bosnia and Herzegovina. There can be no redrawing of the map or any prospects of Bosnia and Herzegovina joining the European Union as anything other than a single sovereign State.

We are also gravely concerned by the sustained political crisis in the Federation and the continued impasse in Mostar. The ongoing disputes and associated institutional gridlock deeply discredit the political parties in the Federation entity. As the Steering Board of the Peace Implementation Council has pointed out, ensuring the functioning of institutions is not a choice. It is an obligation. We fully support the High Representative's efforts to find a local solution to these issues, and welcome his continued cooperation with

the EU Special Representative in pushing for their resolution.

There have been rare occasions this year where agreement has been found among Bosnia and Herzegovina's leaders. As the High Representative's report makes clear, the successful reshuffling of the Council of Ministers has led to regular meetings this year. The passing of the State budget on time is also to be welcomed. These incidents show that political will can be found to act in the national interest, and we must continue to actively encourage the behaviour.

But those are regrettably rare examples. Meanwhile, the social, political and economic impacts of inaction are already apparent in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We share the High Representative's concern at the deteriorating economic situation and call on Bosnia and Herzegovina's leaders to ensure that the country is well prepared to weather the economic impact of Croatian accession to the EU in July. Here again, the state of near gridlock that we have witnessed in recent months is very damaging, not just because of the signal it sends to potential investors, but also because it contributes to delay in dispersing international financial assistance for Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The negative trends that the High Representative illustrates in his report reinforce our assessment that international safeguards and a strengthened EU presence continue to play an important role in ensuring security and stability in Bosnia and Herzegovina. As such, the United Kingdom supports the High Representative's recommendation that the European Union Force-Operation Althea and its executive mandate be retained this year. We look forward to discussions on that matter at the October meeting of the EU Foreign Affairs Council and at the United Nations Security Council in November.

Mr. Nduhungirehe (Rwanda): I would like to thank Mr. Valentin Inzko, High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina, for the comprehensive presentation of the ninth report he has submitted to the Council — the forty-third report of his Office. We particularly thank him for his work in ensuring that the Dayton Peace Agreement is fully implemented.

Let me also commend the international efforts that have for so long tried to foster peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina, particularly those of the Steering Board of the Peace Implementation Council.

Mr. Inzko's ninth report presents mixed progress. We have all noted that the security situation in the country has remained calm and stable without any major incident. We commend the authorities of Bosnia and Herzegovina in that regard, as well as the European Union Force-Operation Althea for its valuable assistance to the Government.

We are also encouraged by the fact that the Council of Ministers met regularly and that the budget was adopted on time. We are also happy to hear that a tripartite summit will be held today among Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Turkey and hope that it will boost regional cooperation.

However, we are concerned by the current political stalemate. We note that the Government's cohesiveness and unity have been severely challenged by disagreement among the political actors, particularly within the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The stand-off has negatively impacted their own development and the fulfilment of the agenda containing five objectives and two conditions, set for the closure of the Office of the High Representative.

It is important to stress that every branch of power — particularly the Government and the Parliament — must abide by its constitutional role. It is also important that all stakeholders continue to engage in dialogue in order to dislodge the stalemate. For progress to be made, constructive dialogue among all ethnic groups, including minorities, and among the various structures in Bosnia and Herzegovina on one side, and the High Representative on the other, are critical.

Rwanda reaffirms its support for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina and believes that all parties must refrain from divisive and secessionist rhetoric, which is not only in violation of the Dayton Peace Agreement but could also jeopardize the fragile reconciliation process in the country.

Let me also point out that, far from representing a handicap, the cultural differences constitute an important asset of the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Therefore, all parties and entities need to look beyond ethnic lines in order to reach greater heights, including meeting the requirements for joining the European Union.

On justice and human rights, let me be clear as the representative of Rwanda: the Srebrenica genocide is an unquestionable fact, as established by the International

Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia. We therefore condemn all senior officials of Republika Srpska who deny it or defend its perpetrators. Genocide denial is not only an insult to the victims and to history, but also a serious hindrance to genuine reconciliation. However, we believe that, in order for it to be an effective tool for reconciliation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, justice must be carried out for all victims without discrimination.

Rwanda also wishes to stress that human and political rights need to be extended to the minorities. I recall that the Sejdić-Finci ruling of the European Court of Human Rights, on the right of minorities to be elected to the presidency and to the House of Peoples of the Parliament, is yet to be implemented. We therefore urge all parties to engage in dialogue on that issue, with a view to exploring constitutional reforms that could ensure equality for all in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In the same vein, we call for the implementation of the November 2010 ruling of the Constitutional Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina regarding the electoral system of the city of Mostar. We urge the local authorities to assume their responsibility and abide by the Dayton Peace Agreement in order to allow the people of Mostar to exercise their democratic rights.

In conclusion, my delegation would like to stress that the achievement of sustainable peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina lies with its people and its leaders. We hope that, in the near future, the Government of the country will be able to own its future with a limited international presence. We therefore call upon all parties to demonstrate political will and to implement in good faith the outstanding requirements of the "5+2" agenda, which is the only way to graduate from the monitoring of the Office of the High Representative and to ensure a better future for the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Ms. King (Australia): I would like to thank you, Mr. President, for convening this debate. I would like to join others in thanking Mr. Valentin Inzko, High Representative, for his report on the implementation of the Dayton Peace Agreement (S/2013/263, annex). Mr. Inzko has brought forward a typically thorough and objective account of the continuing challenges to Bosnia and Herzegovina's progress and its European and Euro-Atlantic integration. I express Australia's strong support for him and for the work of his Office.

Australia has a close association with Bosnia and Herzegovina. In the 1990s, Australian peacekeepers served alongside their European Union (EU) and NATO counterparts to help build peace. During that period, through our humanitarian immigration programme, we were proud to receive in Australia more than 30,000 people displaced from Bosnia and Herzegovina. Today, they are valued members of our society. We are demonstrably committed to seeing Bosnia and Herzegovina consolidate itself as a stable, unified country that can provide for the needs of all of its citizens.

Seventeen years after the signing of the historic Dayton Peace Agreement, Bosnia and Herzegovina finds itself in the midst of a difficult political phase. There have been some positive recent developments. We welcome, for example, regular meetings between the Presidency and the Council of Ministers. We also welcome the fact that the 2013 State budget was adopted on time, for the first time in two years. We encourage Bosnia and Herzegovina's leaders to display the unity of purpose that will allow them to build on those achievements.

We are, however, concerned by other developments that threaten to role back the progress achieved since the mid-1990s. In particular, challenges in some quarters to the fundamentals of the Peace Agreement and the territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina risk eroding the fragile gains that have been made in nation-building.

Australia fully supports the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina. That is the fundamental pillar of the Dayton Peace Agreement that has underwritten peace and stability. It also remains critical for broader peace and stability in the Balkans. We encourage all political leaders in Bosnia and Herzegovina to respect the status of the country as an independent sovereign nation and to engage in a constructive dialogue to strengthen the Government in ways that deliver on the aspirations of the people. That is all the more important as Bosnia and Herzegovina approaches the election schedule for next year.

We also encourage political leaders to commit to constitutional reform in order to establish strong and representative State structures. Agreement on constitutional amendments to implement the European Court of Human Rights ruling in the *Sejdić-Finci* case should be an immediate priority as a strong signal that Bosnia and Herzegovina guarantees to all of its citizens

an equal stake in the country's future. It is also needed to place Bosnia and Herzegovina firmly back on the path towards its goal of European and Euro-Atlantic integration.

Australia acknowledges the fact that Bosnia and Herzegovina remains relatively safe and secure for its citizens. We share the view that stability, at present, is in no small part backed by the presence of the European Union and NATO military missions. That is another example of the role that regional organizations can and must play in securing regional stability and the importance of the Council in engaging closely with them.

Australia endorses the ongoing presence of the European Union-led peacekeeping force (EUFOR); its ongoing monitoring and reporting and arms disposal activities contribute to peace and stability every day. EUFOR will not and should not stay forever, but, for now, it remains important to sustaining confidence among communities.

So long as the remaining objectives and conditions for closure of the Office of the High Representative remain unmet, we should continue to support the efforts of the High Representative to help deliver sustainable peace and prosperity in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In a climate of fiscal constraint, we applaud the efforts of the Office of the High Representative to reduce costs. Those efforts ensure the Office's ongoing financial viability.

In conclusion, the leaders of Bosnia and Herzegovina themselves have the ultimate responsibility to put their country where we all want to see it — on an irreversible path to peace and greater prosperity. To do so, we encourage them to put aside their differences and work together to implement the outstanding objectives and conditions of the 5+2 agenda. The international community, in particular the Security Council, has an important supporting role to play. We must continue to engage to help realize the goal of a stable, sovereign Bosnia and Herzegovina, at peace with itself and united in building a prosperous future for its own people.

Mr. Masood Khan (Pakistan): I join other speakers in thanking Mr. Valentin Inzko for his briefing today and for his good work as the High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina. We have taken note of his report to the Security Council (S/2013/263, annex). We welcome in our midst the representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Her Excellency Ms. Mirsada Čolaković.

Pakistan is fully committed to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina. We support all efforts to strengthen the State at the national level while preserving the rights and prerogatives of all communal entities.

Let me start with the positive feedback given by Mr. Inzko. We are glad to know that the State-level Council of Ministers met regularly and that the budget for 2013 was adopted. The European Union and NATO military missions continue to ensure the safety and security of citizens.

The negative feedback, however, surpasses the good news. Progress on the political track is unfortunately stalled. A worsening fiscal situation, poor growth and high unemployment are compounding social problems. There is no movement towards European and Euro-Atlantic integration. The lack of progress on the implementation of the five objectives and two conditions necessary for the closure of the Office of the High Representative is an indication of the lack of commitment to the future of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

We commend the High Representative for offering his good offices and engaging political stakeholders to break the impasse. Pakistan is deeply concerned by the increasing challenges to the Dayton Peace Agreement and to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Republika Srpska and its leadership took several actions during the reporting period that violated the General Framework Agreement. They included the adoption of a decree to unilaterally regulate citizen identification, the non-implementation of the decisions of the Constitutional Court, and intensified rhetoric by its leadership, in particular its President, against the General Framework Agreement. His assertions for self-determination for the Serbs and his calls for the dissolution of the State of Bosnia and Herzegovina should be a matter of serious concern for the entire Council. We believe that statements such as those would not serve the interests of any community, as they would vitiate the atmosphere and undermine the prospects for long-term peaceful coexistence. Challenges to the Dayton Peace Agreement and divisive rhetoric should therefore be avoided.

The President of Republika Srpska has also continued to target the key State institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which is undermining their effectiveness. The institutions that were established

to exercise responsibilities of the State under the Constitution are a cornerstone for safeguarding the rule of law, sovereignty, territorial integrity and constitutional order in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Efforts to undermine them would have an adverse impact on the long-term stability of the State.

We condemn statements by senior officials of Republika Srpska denying the genocide committed in Srebrenica in 1995, which has been confirmed by the rulings of the International Court of Justice, the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia and other courts. Such statements will do serious damage to the reconciliation process inside Bosnia and Herzegovina and regionally. In that regard, we welcome the courageous and historical statement of Serbian president Tomislav Nikolić in which he offered an apology for the genocide committed in Srebrenica.

It is vitally important for all parties to recognize the international and legal frameworks for the division of power in the country. Pakistan supports all efforts to ensure a safe and secure environment in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We urge the leadership of the country to resolve their differences through dialogue. The Office of the High Representative should continue to play its role in that regard. We wish him success.

Mr. Wang Min (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): I thank High Representative Inzko for his briefing.

China welcomes the achievements made by Bosnia and Herzegovina in promoting national reconciliation and economic development and in building the rule of law. We have also noted that Bosnia and Herzegovina still faces difficulties and challenges in attaining stability and development in the country. We hope that people of all ethnic groups in the country will focus on the welfare and long-term interests of the country, take effective measures to build mutual political confidence, promote national reconciliation, consolidate the achievements made in the political process and actively settle differences through dialogue and comprehensively implement the Dayton Peace Agreement in order to bring about greater progress in all areas.

China respects the independence, sovereignty, national unity and territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina. We respect the choice made by its people regarding their country's future. We support ethnic groups' living in harmony and seeking common development. Maintaining peace and stability in Bosnia and Herzegovina and promoting its economic and social development are in keeping with the interests of all the parties concerned.

China supports the international community in playing a constructive role and calls upon the international community to continue its support and assistance to Bosnia and Herzegovina. Meanwhile, the question of Bosnia and Herzegovina is highly complex and sensitive, as it involves not only the country itself but also peace and stability in the entire Balkan region. The international community should adopt a prudent attitude on the question and make greater efforts to hear the views and concerns of the parties involved.

China welcomes the efforts made by Mr. Inzko to promote the political process in Bosnia and Herzegovina and hopes that, based on his mandate, he will continue to play an active and constructive role in promoting the implementation of the Dayton Peace Agreement. China is ready to join the international community in continuing its due contribution to achieving durable peace, stability and development in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Mrs. Perceval (Argentina) (*spoke in Spanish*): The representative of the Republic of Korea often says that I am wont to mention elements of philosophy, and, yes, that is what I studied. I think that when we think about Bosnia and Herzegovina it cannot be, as has sometimes been done, a conditioned response — we set up a model and automatically the machinery should work. We are dealing with the human, with societies, with peace. I say that with great respect because, in 1995, we saw once again in various places that, when humankind faces the horror of cruelty and death, hope also appears.

As the philosopher said, "hope is found in those who cannot find comfort". Why do I bring that up? I do so because sometimes it is very tedious to have to listen to comments that consist of nothing more than "six of one, half dozen of the other; this is good, that is bad; that was signed; elections were held" — while we forget how complicated it is to build societies, to be willing to find peace and to resist the compulsion to set up protectorates as we did in other periods in human history. We must instead be amenable to contributing so that each nation can create its own destiny.

Many colleagues have noted that steps have to be taken in order to achieve full European Union integration. Yes, undeniably, those steps must be taken to achieve full inclusion in the international community.

based on trust. However, even that must be done without imposition, but in accordance with the rhythm of the various cultures and peoples involved. We know that, as in other cases, we are dealing with inter-ethnic and intercultural communities that are not the result of nature, but of a freely made decision to agree to come together. As Mr. Inzko stated, that requires unwavering attention, patience and a long-term perspective.

I thank Mr. Inzko for his report (S/2013/263, annex). It is not always worthwhile dwelling on certain considerations, but it is always worth recalling that change cannot be imposed, but that it must be built, particularly in the context of peace and integration. In that regard, we view as encouraging news, as set out in the report, that the new Council of Ministers has held regular meetings since it was restructured in November, and that a budget has been adopted for 2013. We welcome those accomplishments, but they should be routine. We welcome them as something extraordinary, but they should be the norm if we are to have a State with working institutions. Therefore, since that first step has been taken, we hope that what is extraordinary will become the norm.

We welcome the establishment of the Working Group for Resolving State and Defence Property Issues. Like others, we note that rather than regret that the progress that began in 2011 is now slowing down, according to what we read in the reports, and returning to its negative tendencies of past years, we must seek to understand the deep-rooted causes of that stalemate and those difficulties. Rather than issuing new mandates, we should contribute and make ourselves available to ensure compliance with the Agreements that were so freely signed in Dayton.

We welcome the smooth functioning of the institutions of Republika Srpska, but we also reiterate our willingness to understand and contribute to ensuring that the open challenges launched by some leaders of Republika to the bases of the Peace Agreement and the territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and their verbal attacks on key State institutions, are not repeated. How can we contribute to that objective?

Undeniably, rhetoric denying the Srebrenica genocide, despite the rulings of the International Court of Justice and the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, is particularly worrisome. Those of us from countries that have experienced such situations realize that the path of denial is that of impunity. Therefore, we call on the leadership of Republika Srpska to renew its commitment to the constitutional order, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina and to international law and human rights.

The political crisis that broke out in the Federation — starting with the vote of no confidence of the Social Democratic Party to rid the coalition Government of the Party for Democratic Action and the invocation of vital national interest — is now being analysed by the Supreme Court. The Court must decide whether or not a vital national interest was affected. We have all read the report, and I believe that this is a clear example of Mr. Inzko's assertion that party and personal interests seem to be placed above those of the common good and society. When institutions work as corporations on behalf of the vested interests of the few, they cannot in any way help to build confidence or lay the foundations for democracy and peace.

The results of the local elections in October 2012, in particular the case of Srebrenica, represent good news, even as the courts will deal with the challenges. We know elections remain to be held, for example in the city of Mostar, to elect local authorities. We hope that those elections will be held. Free elections never hurt; failure to hold elections hinders efforts to build genuine respect for the Constitution, signed agreements and social peace.

Finally, with regard to the implementation of the decision of the European Court of Human Rights in the *Sejdić-Finci* case, we regret that the deadline of 11 April established by the European Union for achieving an agreement on the necessary constitutional amendments was not observed. We call on the political leadership of Bosnia and Herzegovina to redouble its efforts to reach such an agreement.

Argentina acknowledges the work done by the Office of the High Representative in implementing the civil aspects of the Dayton Agreement, as well as its action to ensure that Government institutions can fulfil the terms of the Peace Agreement and the State Constitution. We believe that the presence of the Office is necessary to contribute to a dialogue, which cannot be ensured forever, but which we believe is always necessary.

The President (*spoke in French*): I shall now make a statement in my national capacity as representative of Togo.

For my part, I should like to thank the High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina, Mr. Valentin Inzko, for his six-month report (S/2013/263, annex) on the political and social situation in the country. I shall limit my statement to a few comments and observations on the political situation in the country, the state of its institutions, the reforms to be undertaken and the matter of conditions to be met for the closing of the Office of the High Representative.

Regarding the political situation, my country notes with regret the ongoing inability of the Bosnian political class to achieve a lasting political consensus on federative projects. That could explain the lack of significant progress made over the last reporting period. Indeed, the positive trend we saw in the beginning of 2012, which was welcomed during the debate held on 15 May 2012 (see S/PV.6771), seems to be losing steam.

During that debate, we had noted that following the establishment of a central Government in February 2012, after the political compromise arrived at following the general elections of October 2010, the adoption in May 2012 of a number of measures, including the national budget, the voting on the Census Law and State aid, the Bosnian political class was able to go overcome its community-based divisions so as to better tackle the consolidation of the country's unity and move forward with common interests. Unfortunately, the leaders of the country were unable to continue with that positive trend, which would have led to positive prospects for the country, in particular Euro-Atlantic integration.

My country believes that the current stalemate, even backsliding, on the political front, which is due on the one hand to the reluctance of certain actors to engage in dialogue in a spirit of compromise and, on the other, to a desire to weaken the central Bosnia and Herzegovina State, jeopardizes the implementation of the Dayton Agreement. That Agreements, as other speakers have stated, must be safeguarded and implemented in good faith so as to allow the country to make further progress.

We condemn the nationalist discourse, which could exacerbate existing political tensions among the various communities, erode central State institutions and the efforts of the international community to promote peace and stability in the country and in the region. We urge once again the leaders of the country to act with greater political responsibility by decisively committing to building a multi-ethnic, multi-confessional Bosnian State, one that upholds the rule of law.

On that last point, my country shares the concern of the High Representative that nothing can be achieved without shoring up the rule of law and respect for State institutions and their decisions. In that connection, we regret the attitude of defiance shown by some entities and individuals of the Bosnian State, which, in violation of the Dayton Agreement and the Constitution of the country, continue to take political and legal measures that go against the central institutions in areas that fall under the State of Bosnia and Herzegovina's mandate.

It is important that the Central State institutions responsible for upholding the rule of law, in particular the Constitutional Court, be respected and implemented. It is therefore unfortunate that in spite of the ruling handed down by the Court in 2011, the electoral law has yet to be implemented, which prevented the calling of elections in Mostar during the local elections held on 7 October last.

Moreover, we call on the Bosnia and Herzegovina Parliamentary Assembly to swiftly adopt the constitutional amendments that would allow non-constitutional communities to fully participate in the political life of the country.

Furthermore, given the very complex institutional organization of the country, which can only hamper its smooth running, Togo believes that it might be useful to resume the debate on the streamlining and transparency of those institutions. Here a consensual happy medium should be found between those advocate for a largely decentralized Constitution and those who would like to strengthen the Central State.

Regarding the five objectives and two conditions for the closure of the Office of the High Representative, we regret that substantive progress was not made during the reporting period. Nevertheless, we are pleased that the Office of the High Representative in Brcko put an end on 31 August 2012 to its mandate of supervision in the district, in line with the recommendations of the 23 May 2012 recommendations of the Peace Implementation Council.

We welcome also the initial steps taken by Bosnia and Herzegovina regarding the implementation of the political agreement of 9 March 2012 regarding the registration of military property as an asset of the State. We call upon the political authorities of the country

to continue their efforts to work constructively to implement the agreement without further delay.

Given the significant challenges facing the country, Togo believes that the international presence in Bosnia and Herzegovina should be maintained so as to help the country achieve a lasting political settlement that can strengthen central institutions and ensure peace in the country and in the region. However, it is the responsibility of the political leaders of Bosnia and Herzegovina to take the initiative to coexist. That means that frank dialogue and compromise must be sought, as those are the only solutions that can lead to a lasting and definitive settlement of disputes.

Finally, I should like to conclude by reiterating my country's support for the efforts of the High Representative and the civilian and military personnel who are working for the implementation of the Dayton Agreement and stability in the country.

I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

I give the floor to the representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Ms. Čolaković (Bosnia and Herzegovina): Today we are witnessing a complex political and economic situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. I would like to express my sincere hope that this Security Council debate will facilitate a better understanding of the current state of affairs. Allow me to briefly present my view on the current situation along with possible future developments.

There are diverging opinions and analyses among the political actors, citizens and civil society regarding current developments in the country. Although we are witnessing a certain stalemate in the political process, we believe that additional efforts will be made to urgently find a way out of the current impasse. That is a much needed step that would certainly be beneficial to all of our citizens. That is something that everyone in Bosnia and Herzegovina expects from their political leaders and elected officials.

Bosnia and Herzegovina represents a positive example of the peacebuilding efforts of both the international community and national institutions. A stable peace has been established; the country has been functioning on a constitutional basis; and most refugees and displaced persons have recuperated their property, and many have returned to their homes. Seven general parliamentary elections have been held, the last several of which were completely organized by local authorities. The defence sector and armed forces reforms have been successfully implemented.

Moreover, we are well aware of the fact that the basic prerequisites for building a functional State and society include national reconciliation, the building of trust and putting an end to impunity for all crimes committed. That cannot be achieved without prosecuting all war criminals, regardless of their ethnicity. Even though the initial arrests of indicted war criminals were made by the international military forces, most of the others have been arrested and extradited to the International Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY), in The Hague, by local authorities. In addition to positive cooperation with the ICTY, increasing numbers of war crimes trials are now under way in the national courts.

We have to underline that the overall security situation in the country has been calm and stable for years. As a result of the apparent progress, NATO and the European Union have both reduced the number of their troops on the ground. Having been the host country for peacekeeping operations in the past, Bosnia and Herzegovina has now become a troop contributor to United Nations peacekeeping and the NATO International Security Assistance Force in Afghanistan.

I can confirm Bosnia and Herzegovina is genuinely committed to the European path, which remains an issue of the highest priority in our foreign policy. Our political leaders are pursuing dialogue with the aim of finding solutions to all open questions so that the Stabilization and Association Agreement can come into force, which would in effect enable Bosnia and Herzegovina to submit a credible application for membership of the European Union. This process is not only a major political objective, but the best way to create a legislative and institutional environment that will meet the standards for a better life for our citizens, establish favourable conditions for the development of our companies, and attract foreign direct investment.

Another foreign policy objective of high importance for Bosnia and Herzegovina is to work closely and develop intensive and good bilateral relations with all countries of the region, especially the neighbouring countries of Croatia, Serbia and Montenegro. This commitment has been evident in the recent intensive political dialogue, conducted through bilateral meetings, with Croatia, Serbia and Montenegro at the

most senior levels. A good example of such dialogue is today's meeting in Ankara. Effective cooperation among neighbouring countries is especially important on the issues of cross-border cooperation, combating organized crime, illegal trafficking and smuggling, and so on.

I believe that all our efforts will be reflected in the further enhancement of relations and the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the entire region. It is high time for all of us to turn to our joint future of European integration, political and economic prosperity, stability, mutual respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of our countries, and close, friendly cooperation among all our peoples.

The President (*spoke in French*): I now give the floor to Mr. Mayr-Harting.

Mr. Mayr-Harting: I have the honour to speak on behalf of the European Union (EU). The acceding country Croatia; the candidate countries Turkey, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Montenegro and Iceland; the country of the Stabilization and Association Process and potential candidate Albania; as well as Ukraine and the Republic of Moldova, align themselves with this statement.

I join other speakers in welcoming the High Representative, my good friend Valentin Inzko, back to the Council, and would like to reassure him of our continued support.

The lack of progress in implementing necessary political and economic reforms, the continued use of divisive rhetoric, and deeply rooted divisions among political parties continue to create considerable headwinds for the efforts of those who want to see Bosnia and Herzegovina as a united, stable, viable, multi-ethnic and prosperous State, cooperating peacefully with its neighbours and irreversibly on track towards European Union membership. We therefore encourage Council members to urge Bosnia and Herzegovina's political leadership to overcome the political stalemate and to undertake the reforms necessary to move the country forward in its European perspective.

Political deadlock in Bosnia and Herzegovina continues to burden the process of further stabilization and development. At the entity level, particularly in the Federation, the political climate remains tense and difficult. Several attempts at reshuffling the Federation Government have failed due to political and constitutional challenges. Regrettably, this struggle for political control compromises the ability of local political parties to constructively engage in important reform agendas. The stakes were raised further when Federation President Budimir was apprehended at the end of April on charges of involvement in organized crime and corruption.

There are only remote prospects for the resolution of this stalemate in the near future. Moreover, we have noted some important signs of premature pre-election positioning by the parties ahead of the October 2014 general elections. There is therefore a serious risk of a prolonged period marked by political deadlock in the Federation. This would further negatively affect an already serious economic situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which is already dependent on the macrofinancial support of the International Monetary Fund and the European Union.

In Republika Srpska, the Government was reshuffled on 12 March in response to the results of municipal elections in October last year. The leadership in Banja Luka nonetheless continued to challenge the effectiveness and functionality of State structures, as well as the international presence in Bosnia and Herzegovina. This is unacceptable, complicates the political processes in the country, and makes it more difficult to establish sustained positive momentum.

Difficulties at the entity level are translated into the weakened ability of the State-level institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina to address in particular the fight against corruption and organized crime. They also complicate efforts to strengthen the judiciary and implement reforms in the area of defence, including the necessity to resolve the problem of unstable stockpiles of surplus arms and ammunition in the country.

The European Union has been engaged for many years in efforts to anchor Bosnia and Herzegovina on its European Union path. We believe that it is critical that Bosnia and Herzegovina fulfil as a matter of priority its obligations under the Interim Stabilization and Association Agreement. If it fails to do so, the country will not be in a position to make progress on the path towards European integration that its citizens rightly expect. In particular, Bosnia and Herzegovina needs to urgently bring its Constitution into compliance with the European Convention of Human Rights and implement the ruling of the European Court of Human Rights ruling in the *Sejdić-Finci* vs. *Bosnia and Herzegovina* case. This ruling embodies the principle of ethnic non-discrimination, which is at the core of the values

promoted by both the European Union and the United Nations. The implementation of the ruling would allow the European Union to decide on the entry into force of the Stabilization and Association Agreement with Bosnia and Herzegovina, paving the way for further steps forward, including a credible EU membership application.

A new round of European Union facilitation efforts in this regard started in early 2013 and was led by EU Special Representative and Head of Delegation Peter Sørensen and Commissioner Štefan Füle. Despite the significant time, efforts and resources devoted by the EU, political leaders in Bosnia and Herzegovina again failed to agree on a solution, leading to the cancellation of the 11 April meeting of the EU High-Level Dialogue.

Both EU High Representative Catherine Ashton and Commissioner Štefan Füle recently visited Bosnia and Herzegovina and urged its leaders to continue to seek compromise and move the country forward on its European Union path, including by implementing the ruling of the European Court of Human Rights. By not bringing its Constitution into line with European standards, Bosnia and Herzegovina risks the legitimacy and credibility of its future leaders to be selected in the 2014 general elections. High Representative Ashton and Commissioner Füle also reaffirmed once again the European Union's commitment to Bosnia and Herzegovina's European future.

Recent progress towards the European Union by the rest of the region, in particular the beginning of the normalization of relations between Serbia and Kosovo, as well as the upcoming accession of Croatia to the European Union, should help encourage progress in Bosnia and Herzegovina as well.

Since September 2011, the European Union has strengthened its political presence in Bosnia and Herzegovina in order to facilitate progress towards European integration. The single European Union presence on the ground, with a single EU Special Representative and Head of Delegation, is fully engaged in supporting Bosnia and Herzegovina in all European Union-related matters. The Eureopean Union increased its regional presence in 2012, with new offices in Mostar and Brcko and a larger office in Banja Luka. The Special Representative and Head of Delegation is also offering the EU Force Commander political guidance on military issues with a local political dimension, in particular concerning sensitive operations and relations with local authorities and with the local media.

The European Union also continues to support Bosnia and Herzegovina's progress in the security field. The overall security situation has remained calm and stable, and Bosnia and Herzegovina authorities have so far proved capable of dealing with threats to the security environment. The European Union will therefore keep the European Union Force-Operation Althea (EUFOR-Althea) focused on capacity-building and training. However, EUFOR Althea will retain an executive military role to support Bosnia and Herzegovina's efforts to maintain a safe and secure environment under a United Nations mandate. It therefore remains able to contribute to the deterrence capacity of Bosnia and Herzegovina's authorities, if the situation so requires. The European Union will also continue to provide considerable pre-accession assistance.

In the context of the overall European Union strategy for Bosnia and Herzegovina, we look forward to continuing the discussion with the international community on the reconfiguration of the international presence, in the appropriate forum. We call on the authorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina to meet the outstanding objectives and conditions for the closure of the Office of the High Representative.

In conclusion, the European Union reiterates its unequivocal commitment to the territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a sovereign and united country. We remain ready to provide the necessary assistance to support progress towards Bosnia and Herzegovina's European integration. It is that approach that will take the country forward on its reform agenda towards stability and development, on its path to the European Union.

The President (*spoke in French*): I now give the floor to the representative of Croatia.

Mr. Vilović (Croatia): At the outset, please allow me to extend my sincere congratulations to you, Mr. President, on the occasion of your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of May.

Let me also welcome to His Excellency Mr. Valentin Inzko, High Representative for the Implementation of the Peace Agreement on Bosnia and Herzegovina, and to thank him for his briefing and his report (S/2013/263, annex).

As members have heard, Croatia also aligns itself with the statement of the European Union (EU).

The stability and prosperity of Bosnia and Herzegovina is crucial for the stability of the whole region of South-East Europe. Croatia therefore wholeheartedly supports the development of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a fully functional State for the benefit of all its citizens and strongly supports the prospect of the country's full membership in NATO and the European Union.

However, we note with regret that, despite some positive developments in the rest of the region, such as the agreement between Belgrade and Pristina and Montenegro's progress in the Euro-Atlantic integration processes, in Bosnia and Herzegovina progress has stalled in almost all areas, including the EU agenda. Since the High Representative's previous report (see S/2012/813) in November 2012, there has been no significant progress in the strengthening of institutions, the constitutional framework or the implementation of the necessary reforms.

Bosnia and Herzegovina is at a crossroads. On the one hand there is the Dayton Agreement, and on the other the ruling of the European Court of Human Rights in the *Sejdić-Finci* case. We believe that the democratic equality of all citizens and the institutional equality of the three constituent peoples are both crucial for the viability and stability of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In our view, political and national representation should not result in any form of ethnic majorization, but in a balance of individual and collective rights.

We would also like to reiterate once again Croatia's strong support for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

We sincerely hope that political dialogue and readiness for compromise will yield concrete results and allow for the entry into force of the Stabilization and Association Agreement between Bosnia and Herzegovina and the European Union, which would mark an important step forward in the process of European integration and would offer Bosnia and Herzegovina an additional tool for accelerating reform processes. We hope that political elites will manage to reach an agreement, which will show that they put the interests of the country and all its citizens above the interests of their parties.

Furthermore, for Croatia, as a neighbouring country, the progress of Bosnia and Herzegovina on the path towards NATO membership is of vital importance. We therefore call on political leaders in the country to make additional efforts on the implementation of the political agreement reached by the six political parties regarding the resolution of the outstanding issue of military property, in order to enable the implementation of the first round of the action plan for NATO membership. In the meantime, the existing cooperation between Bosnia and Herzegovina and NATO should be maintained and enhanced.

The principle of the early fulfillment of conditionality, even before the process of institutional negotiations, might not be at all times fully applicable to Bosnia and Herzegovina. We support an approach that would take into consideration the still-existing need for a build-up of the necessary decision-making capacities in Bosnia-Herzegovina, taking into account its distinct complexities.

Croatia has been, and will continue to be, ready to provide all possible assistance to Bosnia and Herzegovina on its Euro-Atlantic path. Part of those efforts includes the preparation of the agreement on Euro-Atlantic partnership between Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as talks regarding the economic and other impacts of Croatia's EU membership as of 1 July.

Let me conclude by saying that the future of Bosnia and Herzegovina is first and foremost the responsibility of its people. But, at the same time, the international community needs to bear its part of responsibility with an active and sustainable engagement, which remains vital for the progress and prosperity of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The President (*spoke in French*): I now give the floor to the representative of Serbia.

Mr. Starčević (Serbia): At the outset, I would like to welcome His Excellency Mr. Valentin Inzko, High Representative for the Implementation of the Peace Agreement on Bosnia and Herzegovina, and to thank him for his report to the Council (S/2013/263, annex).

My country has stable relations with Bosnia and Herzegovina and fully respects the Dayton Peace Agreement as the basis for the stability of that country and the Western Balkans region. We are committed to the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Bosnia and Herzegovina and believe that its future should

be decided by its people and political leaders without outside interference. To that end, we shall support any agreement accepted by the two entities and three constitutive peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Serbia considers Bosnia and Herzegovina to be one of its closest partners and has a very strong interest in promoting mutual relations to the highest possible level. We are committed to developing those relations on the basis of good-neighbourliness and shall work on their promotion at the central level, as well as on the expansion and intensification of cooperation with the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the further deepening and enrichment of special relations with the Republic Srpska. Since new Governments were formed in our two countries in 2012, cooperation between us, both bilaterally and in regional organizations, has increased considerably, with concrete results that have made this recent period one of the most dynamic in our history of cooperation.

Serbia is a staunch advocate of Bosnia and Herzegovina's integration into Europe and of strengthening our mutual cooperation in that process, particularly with respect to exchanging experiences, administrative capacity-building and concrete agreements on joint approaches and ways to use the available European Union funds.

We note that the High Representative devotes a significant segment of his report to a discussion of the status and functioning of institutions in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Republika Srpska. We hope that the internal obstacles will be overcome and an internal agreement conducive to Bosnia and Herzegovina's continued European integration reached as soon as possible. Serbia is ready to address all outstanding issues with Bosnia and Herzegovina, which are now significantly fewer, in good faith and in our mutual interests. We particularly welcome the united position on the importance of having direct contact and exchanges of views without outside mediation.

Serbia is committed to the stability and overall development of Bosnia and Herzegovina and, for its part, has taken a number of important steps towards regional reconciliation. In March 2010, our National Assembly adopted a declaration on Srebrenica, and in an interview with Bosnian television in April, President Nikolić apologized for all crimes committed in Serbia's name and announced that he would be visiting Srebrenica to pay his respects to the victims. In that regard, Serbia firmly believes that, in the process of genuine reconciliation, all the perpetrators of crimes must be punished, regardless of which ethnic community they belong to.

We consider it particularly important that the process of refugee returns be completed and that the regional programme for dealing with the housing problems of the region's most vulnerable refugees be implemented more efficiently, without red tape or additional requests.

My country views intensive regional cooperation and a politically and economically stable region in South-East Europe as a basic precondition for its sustainable development. We are committed to strengthening regional cooperation and welcome the successful cooperation with Bosnia and Herzegovina that has been achieved through the South-East European Cooperation Process, the Regional Cooperation Council, the Central European Free Trade Agreement — of which Bosnia and Herzegovina is currently Chair-in-Office — the Central European Initiative, the Adriatic and Ionian Initiative and other forums.

The President (*spoke in French*): There are no more names inscribed on the list of speakers. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 12.25 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.6967

Security Council

Sixty-eighth year

Provisional

6967th meeting
Wednesday, 15 May 2013, 11 a.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Menan	(Togo)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Oyarzábal
	Australia	Ms. King
	Azerbaijan	Mr. Sharifov
	China	Mr. Tian Lin
	France	Mr. Araud
	Guatemala	Mr. Rosenthal
	Luxembourg	Ms. Lucas
	Morocco	Mr. Kadiri
	Pakistan	Mr. Tarar
	Republic of Korea	Mr. Park Yong Min
	Russian Federation	Mr. Iliichev
	Rwanda	Mr. Nduhungirehe
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Tatham
	United States of America	Mr. DeLaurentis

Agenda

The situation in the Central African Republic

Report of the Secretary-General on the situation in the Central African Republic (S/2013/261)

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13-33436 (E)

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The meeting was called to order at 11.35 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the Central African Republic

Report of the Secretary-General on the situation in the Central African Republic (S/2013/261)

The President (*spoke in French*): Under rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite the representatives of the Central African Republic and Chad to participate in this meeting.

On behalf of the Council, I welcome His Excellency Mr. Nicolas Tiangaye, Prime Minister of the Central African Republic, and request the Protocol Officer to escort him to his seat at the Council table.

Mr. Nicolas Tiangaye, Prime Minister of the Central African Republic, was escorted to a seat at the Council table.

The President (*spoke in French*): Under rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite Ms. Margaret Vogt, Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of the United Nations Integrated Peacebuilding Office in the Central African Republic, to participate in this meeting.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

I wish to draw the attention of Council members to document S/2013/261, which contains the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in the Central African Republic.

I now give the floor to Ms. Vogt.

Ms. Vogt: I wish to commend the Security Council for its dedicated attention to the situation in the Central African Republic since the beginning of the conflict there in December 2012, and especially following the coup d'état on 24 March against the Government of François Bozizé and the attendant degradation of security in the whole country. The Council's deliberations have been followed with much interest within the country and in the region. Expectations are high among the people of the Central African Republic for the outcome of this particular meeting, since there is a growing sense of despair among the population, who see no immediate reprieve to the ordeal that presently confronts them. There are expectations that the international community will show solidarity with their plight and decide on some clear steps to bring an end to the impunity with which armed groups have unleashed a reign of terror on the entire population.

The report before the Council (S/2013/261) provides an analysis of the situation in the Central African Republic since the launch of the Séléka offensive in December. It underlines the impact of the rebellion on the people; the State's capacity and infrastructure; on security and human rights; on the humanitarian situation, especially where medical matters are concerned; and on access to food, basic needs and services, as well as the high risk of famine if the current situation persists. It also analyses the regional implications of the Séléka rebellion.

The Secretary-General stresses in the report that even at the best of times the State capacity and infrastructure of the Central African Republic were rudimentary, while health services were at emergency levels similar to situations seen in countries that have been in conflict for a long time. Now, even those facilities have all but disappeared. An already challenging human rights environment, marked by systemic violations of rights even by law enforcement officers, has collapsed into a state of anarchy and total disregard for international law as elements of Séléka have turned their vengeance against the population.

Indiscriminate and often targeted killings, rampant rape, assaults on the innocent population, the flagrant recruitment of children as soldiers, the looting of homes, not just of the rich but even of already struggling citizens — not even the SOS village was spared, nor were churches or convents. These acts continue, almost two months since Séléka took over the reins of power. The leadership is unable or unwilling either to control the ranks of the militia groups or to rein in local commanders.

The leaders of the region have strongly mobilized to fill the security vacuum that the rebellion created and try to contain the situation in the Central African Republic, as the country appears to have become a safe haven for different foreign rebel forces seeking to exploit the natural resources for which the Central African Republic is known. Public evidence shows that strip mining of the diamond and gold resources of the Central African Republic have exponentially expanded in areas controlled by Séléka since the rebellion began.

Further complicating the picture is the growing insecurity in the neighbourhood as the conflict now poses a direct threat to the security of its neighbours, especially the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Chad and Cameroon. These serious threats to the peace and security of the people of the Central African Republic and the Central African region make the re-establishment of security and the rule of law in the Central African Republic the highest priority issue.

The various summits held in Libreville, N'Djamena and most recently Brazzaville laid out solid political ground rules for the new regime in Bangui to follow, as well as a clear road map of tasks that must be accomplished to enable the restoration of a democratic dispensation in the Central African Republic. First, all hostilities must cease and the security must be restored throughout the territory of the Central African Republic; and secondly, constitutional order must be restored, pursuant to the January Libreville Agreements, with the Prime Minister assuming executive powers, while the self-proclaimed President Michel Djotodia heads the National Transitional Council and is Head of the Transition.

The scenario, as implemented by the de facto authorities, suggests a different setting. The Transitional Council, which was supposed to be representative of all political persuasions in the country and to assume the legislative role of the National Assembly, fell short of this expectation as controversy surrounded the procedure through which its members were nominated; hence the decision of the Heads of State at the 18 April summit at N'Djamena to expand the membership of that body to 135. The transitional arrangement is to last for a period of not more that 24 months, ending with elections in which the leaders of the transition would not be eligible to present themselves.

While Mr. Djotodia openly declared his acceptance of the decisions of the Heads of State of the Economic Community (ECCAS) of Central African States, he has proceeded to do the contrary. He insists on his role as President, constantly referring to the decrees naming him President and his appointment of the Prime Minister, whom he claims to have the power to remove, contrary to Libreville. He continues to run the country by presidential decrees.

The international community, especially the African Union, the International Organization of la Francophonie and the Security Council, as well as many Member States bilaterally, have firmly declared their support for the ECCAS political framework for the Central African Republic. However, if this is to work, a number of important measures would have to be taken. The distinctive roles and responsibilities of the executive Prime Minister and the Head of the Transitional Government would have to be defined in the framework of a transitional charter that would lay the ground rules for engagement during the period of the transition.

With respect to human rights, the Séléka offensive destroyed much of Central African Republic's justice system. In the 10 jurisdictions of the Republic, Séléka elements have destroyed most of the infrastructure that supported the justice system, including courthouses, appeals courts, court dossiers, prisons, prison registries and prosecutor files. The justice system, including prisons, will need to be rebuilt entirely, after vast resources have been spent on it through the Peacebuilding Fund. The destruction of administrative files related to birth and citizenship will undoubtedly create a problem during the registration of voters for the upcoming elections.

The Séléka offensive dismantled the policing architecture. National security and defence forces — the gendarmerie, police and national army — have disintegrated, and despite repeated calls for them to resume their duties, to date only a small number of the police and national armed forces officers have resumed their functions.

The current crisis underscores the urgency need for security sector reform and to create an effective and inclusive security sector capable of providing security throughout the country. Broader security sector reform should be based on political consensus. It should include the restoration of State authority, the collection of small arms and light weapons, and community recovery programmes, as well as the reintegration of ex-combatants into formal security and defence forces.

The abuses and violations committed by Séléka combatants and other armed elements, including cases of rape, maiming, recruitment of children and forced marriages, are a source of grave concern in terms of the protection of civilians. They constitute serious violations of human rights and humanitarian law. The High Commissioner for Human Rights, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict, and the Secretary-General have

expressed their concern about the deteriorating security situation in the Central African Republic.

It is critical that the Council unequivocally pronounce itself on the need for these abuses to stop now and for perpetrators to be held individually accountable for their actions. We believe that the time is ripe for the Council to consider the imposition of individual sanctions against the architects and perpetrators of these gross violations. We do not want a desperate population to be left with no choice but to take the law into its own hands. The International Criminal Court (ICC) is also closely monitoring developments in the Central African Republic, and the Prosecutor of the ICC has issued a statement warning that the crimes committed against civilians were under close scrutiny by her Office. We believe that the Council needs to send a similar message.

On the humanitarian situation, the latest crisis has exacerbated an already difficult situation for the population of the Central African Republic. Human rights violations against civilians and population movements continue. Over 49,000 refugees have now been registered in neighbouring countries since December, primarily in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Chad, Cameroon and the Republic of the Congo. We should not forget that the population of the entire Central African Republic is only 4.5 million. Substantial numbers of refugees continue to arrive in these countries. In addition to the estimated 173,000 displaced since December, another 33,000 persons had already been displaced, bringing the total number of internally displaced persons to over 200,000.

The number of violent attacks dramatically increased in the first quarter of 2013 as a result of persisting insecurity in the country. More than 60 per cent of those attacks are attributed to armed groups. Since the beginning of 2013, at least one person has been attacked every day.

According to the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, 60 per cent of rural inhabitants, who depend upon agriculture for their livelihoods, are affected by the current crisis. More than 80,000 people, including 57,000 children under the age of 5, are estimated to be at risk of severe food insecurity during the upcoming lean season, from now until September. Those figures are likely to increase with the rise in food prices triggered by the crisis. If seeds are not distributed during the current planting season, coupled with the increase in prices revealed by recent assessments in Bangui, there could be a risk of basic food shortages. That could eventually lead to acute food and nutritional insecurity in both rural and urban areas. With schools closed or occupied and teachers absent, at least 656,000 children currently have no access to education.

Difficult humanitarian access due to insecurity and limited road networks is the number one constraint for reaching those in need of assistance. Access has become severely curtailed since December amid the breakdown of law and order, with many humanitarian offices and warehouses around the country having been looted. While all parties have in principle agreed to facilitate humanitarian access, insecurity is limiting humanitarian actors' ability to reach those in need of assistance, including internally displaced persons, host communities and victims of human rights violations.

Despite those constraints, United Nations agencies and programmes are organizing joint assessment missions to the field to identify needs and the humanitarian impact of the crisis. Missions to some provinces have revealed that the humanitarian situation is worsening in the areas of health, water and sanitation, nutrition and protection, food security and education. The most urgent needs are in the food-security sector, where households have altered their diet by changes to their food sources, as well as the need for garbage disposal. Further assessments are planned in the coming weeks.

Additional funding is urgently required to support the humanitarian response capacity. The annual humanitarian appeal for the Central African Republic, totalling $129 million, was 29 per cent funded as of 10 May. It was estimated in March that an additional $42 million was required to respond to the new needs triggered by the crisis. That amount is likely to increase further.

I believe that there is an urgent need to help restore security and stability in the Central African Republic. That should be done by deploying a neutral security force that would contain the current state of anarchy and force the rebel elements to conform to the security framework laid down in Libreville. That framework provides that all security forces be cantonned/regrouped, disarmed, demobilized and screened for absorption into a reformed security force. The Security Council and the entire international community must act quickly to protect the people of the Central

African Republic from the assault they are under by armed groups. The situation in Bangui is particularly pressing, as the city has the largest population concentration — approximately 1.5 million out of a total population of 4.5 million in the entire country. But that effort should not be limited to Bangui.

The presence of such a neutral stabilization force, together with the close political support of the follow-up committee established by the region and the just-established international contact Group to support the transition, is critical in providing a security and political blanket that would enable the authorities to implement the Libreville Agreements and would allow the Prime Minister to play his role as executive head of Government. The international effort would also help to ensure that assistance would not be abused to fuel impunity and authoritarianism.

We welcome the current initiative by the Economic Community of Central African States to expand its force to 2,000, which requires the urgent support of the international community. It will also be critical for the regional force to review its strategic objectives and concept of operations to give the force some teeth. A meeting is taking place today precisely to look into the issue. That short-term initiative needs to be quickly followed up by an expanded regional force, possibly coordinated by the African Union and with the support of the international community. However, for the very immediate term, a bridging arrangement is required to stop the current carnage.

Through the United Nations Integrated Peacebuilding Office in the Central African Republic, the Organization has worked closely with the region in defining the parameters for the transition, based on solid democratic principles and legality. Experience has taught us that such principles are not merely words, but critical foundations for sustainable peace and security. To establish a credible and enduring political framework following the transition, the foundations must be laid down now. Crucial transitional tasks — such as establishing election-management bodies; defining the electoral constituency; disarmament, demobilization and reintegration; security sector reform; regionalization; developing rule-of-law and justice mechanisms; social and economic development and so on — require a representative body that reflects the interests of the entire society, otherwise the transition may result in another round of conflict. That is why we insist on the Libreville Agreements as the legal basis.

For the United Nations, the role of the Prime Minister as the juridical face of the transition is critical, as that position was the product of an agreement to which everyone had subscribed. We strongly believe that we should not encourage a system of impunity in a situation through which a democratic order is overturned by force of arms, even when confronted with serious governance challenges. The Libreville Agreements were designed to address some of the grievances put forward by the rebels while respecting the democratic framework. The coup d'état overturned this transitional process towards and forcefully imposed a new order. It is critical that we support the region, ECCAS and the African Union, and regional actors in re-establishing the basic principles of Libreville.

The President (*spoke in French*): I thank Ms. Vogt for her briefing.

I now give the floor to the representative of the Central African Republic.

Mr. Tiangaye (Central African Republic) (*spoke in French*): It is a great honour for me to speak before the Security Council. I should like to take this opportunity to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your country's assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. I wish to assure you of the full support of my delegation during your term of office. I take this opportunity to pay tribute to your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of Rwanda, for the work he accomplished on his watch in April.

The report of the Secretary-General (S/2013/261) to the Council represents an opportunity for me and my country an opportunity to convey the gratitude of the Central African Republic to the Secretary-General, Mr. Ban Ki-moon, for the continued support of the United Nations for the quest for peace, stability and development in this highly fragile State, beset by almost ongoing instability. Here we wish also to thank the Special Representative, Ms. Margaret Vogt, as well as all of her team.

The report before us is clear and concise in its description of the situation on the ground in the Central African Republic as it was previously and is now. An tragedy of unprecedented scope is unfolding before our eyes today in this State of 4.6 million inhabitants, and we take note of this. The Central African crisis, which has long been forgotten, must once again take centre stage and be included on the agenda of the Security Council.

The tragedy that is gripping the Central African Republic at all levels is characterized by disturbances to the public order, violence, abuses, summary executions, rape, the recruitment of child soldiers, and crimes against World Heritage wildlife, exemplified by the incidents of poaching in Dzanga Sangha reserve last week, in which more than 20 elephants were killed. It has inevitably had a humanitarian impact, including increased insecurity.

Since the taking and looting of a number of cities in the province, up until the entry of Séléka troops into the capital of Bangui on 24 March, the city of Bangui has witnessed almost three weeks of light and heavy fire, which has led to a massive displacement of people within and outside the city. It has been characterized by insecurity caused by the looting, rape, destruction and killings perpetrated by lawless elements of the Séléka. That also applies to those charged with protecting public and private establishments. Lack of security on the roadways and in regions has made the circulation of persons and goods impossible, thus hampering economic recovery.

The continuing insecurity at the level of strategic infrastructure, such as fuel-storage facilities in Kolongo and facilities related to water and electricity distribution and to the dredging activities of the Ubangi river; the systematic looting of documents and bureaucratic materials from administrations, of pharmaceutical products and of medical and biomedical material from hospitals; and the destruction of production facilities, which has made it impossible for most companies to pay their tariffs and taxes to the State, poses a threat to the stability resulting from the Libreville Agreements and the decisions of successive summits of the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) held in N'Djamena. All of those violations disrupt the daily lives of people and provide a particularly painful and disturbing illustration of the situation.

Nevertheless, generally speaking, the process of the implementation of the structures recommended by the most recent Summit of Heads of State and Government, held in N'Djamena on April 18, has been moving forward in a manner satisfactory to Central Africans with respect to the recommendations that have been made.

However, the situation remains worrisome, despite the goodwill of the Government and the efforts of the Mission for the Consolidation of Peace in the Central African Republic (MICOPAX). Indeed, certain incidents that have been noted continue to be worrisome for national and international public opinion and could hinder the ongoing efforts of the Government and the international community to achieve security, peace and stability in the Central African Republic and the subregion.

Given that chaotic situation, which has caused deep upheaval within the State, what do we intend to do, and how shall we do it?

First and foremost, on the institutional and political fronts, pursuant to the recommendations of the Extraordinary Summit of Heads of State and Government of ECCAS held in N'Djamena on April 18, in the coming days, following broad consultations, a Government will be established, a Government of national unity.

Although the National Transitional Council was supposed to have 105 members, the ECCAS subregional authorities increased it to 135, so as to ensure the broadest representation possible in the transition management process.

The illegally elected Office of the National Transitional Council should be abolished in the coming days so as to adapt to current circumstances. Here I would recall that the outlines of this political transition were sketched out by ECCAS during the various Summits held in N'Djamena on 3 and 18 April, as well as in Brazzaville, on 3 May.

It is clearly stated in the N'Djamena declaration that all actors involved in managing the transition, including the Head of the transition, the Prime Minister, the Ministers and the members of the Office of the Transitional National Council cannot present their candidature during the next presidential elections.

We would note that the international community has unequivocally condemned that forcible and unconstitutional change. However, ECCAS noted the election by the National Transitional Council of Mr. Michel Djotodia as the President of the Republic and conferred upon him the title of Head of the Transition. ECCAS also recognized the legitimacy of the Prime Minister, because he was the head of the Government of National Unity established under the Libreville Agreements of 11 January 2013.

Concerning the security situation and the rule of law, as we have indicated, the collapse of the State and the lack of any defence or security forces have led

to a security vacuum resulting in total anarchy, with widespread violence and serious violations of human rights, including the looting of public and private property, arbitrary arrests and detentions, sexual violence against women and children, torture, rape, targeted killings, the recruitment of child soldiers and other atrocities committed by uncontrolled Séléka elements and unidentified groups.

Nor was the United Nations spared, as residences of both national and international staff were looted and pillaged, and vehicles stolen. Bangui is witnessing an alarming situation, where the looting and pillaging of houses has reached an unprecedented and unimaginable level, setting the country back several decades. All of this has been accompanied by car theft and armed robbery. Schools and many businesses in Bangui have not fully reopened because of insecurity.

Outside Bangui, security conditions continue to deteriorate as Séléka elements engage in vandalism, violations of human rights and attacks on the civilian population. It should be noted that the looting primarily targets non-Muslims and spares Muslims. This situation is a source of resentment in the Christian communities and inflames religious tensions.

Finally, the climate of insecurity in the Central African Republic affects the stability of the entire subregion.

The Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) thrives in lawless areas and remains a threat to security and the rule of law, having killed at least seven people and carried out kidnappings in the reporting period. At the same time, a leader of the group has been killed and some of its fighters have defected. Uganda had at one point announced the suspension of its monitoring activities in LRA area of activities following a statement by the Head of State of the transition, but reversed its decision following an agreement reached between the various institutions engaged in the hunt for Joseph Kony and his men.

We note that the Séléka offensive destroyed a large part of the country's judicial system and administrative infrastructure, including town halls. That will ultimately raise questions about voting lists in the electoral process ahead. The Séléka offensive has destroyed law enforcement. The forces of defence and security — the gendarmerie, the police and the army — have disintegrated. Despite repeated calls for the old forces of defence and security to go back to work, so far only a small number of officers of the army and police have rejoined the ranks. Although Séléka took control of all political and military levers of the country after seizing power, it cannot restore order.

Despite the efforts of the Government in the fields of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration and security sector reform, its results have not been commensurate with its investment. The Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), which had deployed nearly 700 men, has seen the number of its personnel rise to 2,000, hence the urgency of deploying them fully equipped and trained with a mandate to use force. The reform of the security sector, which was long on standby, should be activated in order to lay the groundwork for creating new forces of defence and security.

With respect to the protection of human rights, the precarious situation deteriorated even further during the conflict, with summary executions and targeted attacks motivated by religious or tribal affiliation, violence against women and girls, the recruitment of child soldiers, and so on. In short, human rights violations of every stripe have been committed, and we must find ways and means of stopping them.

The humanitarian situation deteriorated after Bangui fell. Nearly 47,000 people have fled the country to seek refuge in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the Congo, Cameroon and Chad. Nearly 1.5 million have been displaced internally. The absence of a humanitarian corridor, insecurity and the looting of property, warehouses and vehicles belonging to non-governmental organizations complicate the work of relief and other assistance to the people.

This chaotic situation leads us to ask the Security Council to inscribe the situation in the Central African Republic on its agenda in order to ensure that it will no longer be a forgotten crisis. Faced with the dissolution of the army, and in order to save a people in great distress and before the necessary deployment of the 2,000-man force of the ECCAS Mission de Consolidation de la Paix — which we would like to see opened to non-member States of the ECCAS space — we ask France, which is endowed with a clear United Nations mandate, to intervene by force to disarm Séléka, whose abuses the Central African people have been compelled to endure.

We also ask the European Union and the African Union to do everything possible to fund and/or

provide other resources to the forces that would intervene under that mission. We ask the United Nations to appoint a special rapporteur to investigate violations of human rights in the Central African Republic in order to determine the extent of the crimes committed and prosecute their perpetrators in national and international courts alike, and to assist in the opening of humanitarian corridors in order to allow humanitarian actors to provide relief and assistance to displaced persons and other populations. We call on the international community to mobilize to provide the significant emergency relief that is critical to the survival more than 1.5 million victims waiting for relief.

Finally, we suggest that a Chairman be appointed to the currently leaderless Central African Republic configuration of the Peacebuilding Commission, by mutual agreement with the Central African authorities. Once we have resolved the security situation, even if only partially, we can begin to rebuild the State and to consider calmly preparing the transparent and credible elections that everyone wants.

Before concluding, allow me to convey the heartfelt gratitude of my Government to the United Nations, the African Union, the European Union, the International Organization of la Francophonie, the ECCAS States, France, the United States of America, the United Kingdom, Belgium, Luxembourg, Australia, China, Japan, Germany, the Republic of Korea, the Kingdom of Morocco, Uganda, and all bilateral and multilateral partners that have always supported the Central African Republic in its relentless pursuit of peace and stability.

To all those who have been overtaken by fatigue, we ask them to continue despite it all to believe in the Central African Republic and to act on its behalf. Helping the Central African Republic is to continue stabilizing the subregion of Central Africa. Helping the Central African Republic is to consolidate peace in Africa. Helping the Central African Republic is to fulfil the international community's duty of solidarity vis-à-vis one of its members clinging to life, peace and the fulfillment his people.

The President (*spoke in French*): I now give the floor to the representative of Chad.

Mr. Allam-mi (Chad) (*spoke in French*): I have the honour and privilege to speak on behalf of the presidency of the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS). I wish at the outset to welcome the presence of His Excellency Mr. Nicolas Tiangaye, Prime Minister of the Central African Republic. I wish to express to my congratulations and admiration for the sacrifice he is making to save his country.

I should also like to welcome the presence of Ms. Margaret Vogt, Special Representative of the Secretary-General in the Central African Republic. I have taken note of her imporant and moving statement on the situation in the Central African Republic.

I should like to quote His Excellency Mr. Idriss Deby Itno, President of the Republic of Chad in his capacity as the current Chairman of of the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), speaking to his peers on 18 April at N'Djamena during an extraordinary ECCAS summit on the situation in Chad:

> "The Central African Republic is like a wound in the heart of Central Africa. Despite all remedies proferred to resolve the crisis in the country, the wound only appears to have been healed. We need to engage seriously to end the situation of recurring instability — this time decisively, I hope."

We must ensure that the wound does not turn into gangrene and infect the entire subregion. The tell-tale signs of such contagion are already present, as the Special Representative of the Secretary-General has clearly spelled out. Since 24 March, the security and humanitarian situation in the Central African Republic, which had already been worrisome enough, has deteriorated considerably. Uncontrolled armed groups, comprised of many thousands of men, continue to plunder, extort and commit atrocities across the extent of the country's territory. The country's people await in distress, in vain, concrete action by the international community and the Economic Community of Central African States in better protecting them.

The international community has condemned the unconstitutional change that occurred in the Central African Republic, as has the Economic Community of Central African States in not recognizing the self-proclaimed President. Subsequently, realpolitik led ECCAS to advocate a plan for ending the crisis that, while restoring some level of law and order, would take into account the realities on the ground. The institutions for an 18-month transition have therefore been put in place, including a road map for the transitional Government in order to redress the situation. The

political Agreements signed at Libreville on 11 January set out the core commitments for the transition period.

As the Council is aware, following the coup, an extraordinary ECCAS summit was held at N'Djamena on 3 April. In addition to ECCAS member States, participants also included His Excellency Mr. Jacob Zuma, President of the Republic of South Africa, His Excellency Mr. Boni Yayi, President of the Republic of Benin, as well as the United Nations, the European Union and the International Organization of la Francophonie. That meeting not only condemned the seizure of power by force in the Central African Republic, but it also called the leader of the Séléka coalition, Mr. Michel Djotodia, the self-proclaimed President, to comply with the Libreville Agreements.

At the end of the summit, the ECCAS Heads of State proposed setting up a panel including all the forces of the country capable of acting as the executive branch and a constituent assembly. That is to take place in the context of widespread involvement on the part both of the Libreville signatories and civil society or political elements. The principle of supporting the transition through a monitoring committee and the establishment of an International Contact Group, including regional and international organizations and bilateral and multilateral partners, was also agreed to. All stakeholders in the Central African Republic, including the self-proclaimed President, have unconditionally accepted the road map proposed by the ECCAS summit.

Against that backdrop, according to the most recent information available to us, on the basis of broad consultations, a National Transitional Council has been put in place to act as a constituent assembly that involves all of the country's stakeholders. As the Prime Minister has emphasized, this constituent assembly's main task is to draft a constitution in preparation for elections within 18 months. The National Transitional Council elected the head of the Séléka coalition as President for the transitional period. However, the Council should be expanded to make it much more legitimate and better represent the people of the Central African Republic.

Prime Minister Tiangaye, appointed under the Libreville Agreements, has had his term extended to include greater powers, and he cannot be removed during the transition period. If circumstances require, the transitional President and the Prime Minister may, by mutual agreement, carry out a reorganization of the Government. The transitional President, Prime Minister and other members of the transitional Government cannot stand in the next elections. Under the terms of the transition, a constitutional referendum and parliamentary and presidential elections will be organized on the basis of a legal system and a consensual time table will be established for a return to undisputed democratic and constitutional order. It is clear that nothing is possible without security for persons and property, or without the material and financial resources required by the transitional authorities to carry out their duties. It is precisely to address such issues that ECCAS agreed to establish an International Contact Group, which held its first meeting in Brazzaville 3 May.

On the security front, it is imperative to neutralize the armed gangs. To that end, we must bear in mind the ECCAS N'Djamena declaration of 18 April, which emphasizes the need for the cantonment of all uncontrolled armed elements. It should also be recalled that, in order to ensure a minimum of security for the country, the Central Africa Multinational Force should be increased to 2,000 troops, while the international community should be strongly urged to support MICOPAX with material and financial resources in order to increase its workforce and enhance its effectiveness. The Commission of the African Union is called upon to take appropriate measures to evaluate MICOPAX needs in the areas of staff, equipment and financing. The task of generating forces based on a concept of operations and a concept of logistics support should have the support of Africa and the entire international community.

The international community, in particular the Security Council, has a duty to extend solidarity and assistance to the Central African Republic, which is in dire straits given the political and social chaos that prevails in the country.

In the meantime, the Economic Community of Central African States is doing everything in its power to aid the people of the Central African Republic. Its modest forces are working on the ground to help the transitional authorities reduce insecurity as much as possible. It is imperative that Africa and the international community as a whole commit to concrete action alongside ECCAS and get behind the transition in order to help people in danger.

In conclusion, I would like to inform the Council that the transitional President of the Central African Republic has just begun a visit to the countries of

the subregion, starting with Chad. On that occasion, President Deby Itno, in his capacity as the current Chairman of ECCAS, urged the transitional President to scrupulously respect his commitments, particularly that of ensuring that order and security are rapidly restored and human rights respected.

The President (*spoke in French*): There are no more names inscribed on the list of speakers. I now invite Council members to informal consultations to continue our discussion on the subject.

The meeting rose at 12.35 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.6968

Security Council

Sixty-eighth year

Provisional

6968th meeting
Wednesday, 22 May 2013, 10 a.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Menan	(Togo)
Members:	Argentina	Mrs. Perceval
	Australia	Mr. Quinlan
	Azerbaijan	Mr. Mehdiyev
	China	Mr. Wang Min
	France	Mr. Araud
	Guatemala	Mr. Rosenthal
	Luxembourg	Ms. Lucas
	Morocco	Mr. Loulichki
	Pakistan	Mr. Masood Khan
	Republic of Korea	Mr. Sul Kyung-hoon
	Russian Federation	Mr. Pankin
	Rwanda	Mr. Nduhungirehe
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Mark Lyall Grant
	United States of America	Ms. Rice

Agenda

The situation in Guinea-Bissau

Report of the Secretary-General on developments in Guinea-Bissau, including efforts towards the restoration of constitutional order, and on the activities of the United Nations Peacebuilding Support Office in that country (S/2013/262)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room U-506.

13-34291 (E)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.10 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Guinea-Bissau

Report of the Secretary-General on developments in Guinea-Bissau, including efforts towards the restoration of constitutional order, and on the activities of the United Nations Peacebuilding Support Office in that country (S/2013/262)

The President (*spoke in French*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2013/304, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by France, Luxembourg, Morocco, Pakistan, Rwanda and Togo.

I wish to draw the attention of Council members to document S/2013/262, which contains the report of the Secretary-General on developments in Guinea-Bissau, including efforts towards the restoration of constitutional order, and on the activities of the United Nations Peacebuilding Support Office in that country.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Australia, Azerbaijan, China, France, Guatemala, Luxembourg, Morocco, Pakistan, Republic of Korea, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Togo, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and United States of America

The President (*spoke in French*): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 2103 (2013).

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 10.15 a.m.

United Nations S/PV.6969

Security Council

Sixty-eighth year

Provisional

6969th meeting
Wednesday, 22 May 2013, 10.15 a.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Menan	(Togo)
Members:	Argentina	Mrs. Perceval
	Australia	Mr. Quinlan
	Azerbaijan	Mr. Mehdiyev
	China	Mr. Wang Min
	France	Mr. Araud
	Guatemala	Mr. Rosenthal
	Luxembourg	Ms. Lucas
	Morocco	Mr. Loulichki
	Pakistan	Mr. Masood Khan
	Republic of Korea	Mr. Sul Kyung-hoon
	Russian Federation	Mr. Pankin
	Rwanda	Mr. Nduhungirehe
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Mark Lyall Grant
	United States of America	Ms. Rice

Agenda

The situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian Question

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room U-506.

13-34297 (E)

Accessible document

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The meeting was called to order at 10.15 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian question

The President (*spoke in French*): Under rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite Mr. Robert Serry, Special Coordinator for the Middle East Peace Process and Personal Representative of the Secretary-General, to participate in this meeting.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

I give the floor to Mr. Serry.

Mr. Serry: The Middle East continues to undergo a period of grave turmoil, with tragic human consequences and an uncertain outcome. We have seen regional tensions mounting dangerously as the brutal bloodshed in Syria continued while the fighting also crossed boundaries, and United Nations peacekeepers in the Golan area of separation found themselves increasingly in harm's way. Ending the conflict in Syria is a matter of great urgency and must be the top priority of the international community. At the same time, it would be mistaken and dangerous to assume that a resolution of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict is less important. Now is not the time to relent in our commitments to advancing the prospects for the resumption of meaningful talks towards the realization of a two-State solution. Now is the time for concerted action in support of a substantive initiative, lest we miss the slight opening that has been offered in recent months.

While diplomatic efforts to break the political deadlock and bring the parties back to the negotiating table have remained quiet, they are no less serious in determination. The renewed United States effort and sustained personal engagement of the United States Secretary of State is cause for encouragement. Secretary Kerry is currently on his fourth trip to the region, underscoring his commitment. We have also noted the renewed interest of regional stakeholders, particularly the important visit to Washington, D.C., on 29 April of a delegation of Arab Ministers and leaders, including the Prime Minister of Qatar, Sheikh Hamad bin Jassim bin Jabr Al-Thani, and Secretary General of the League of Arab States Nabil El Araby. Their visit reaffirmed the importance of the Arab Peace Initiative, first proposed in 2002, and, we hope, revived prospects that its promise of regional stability can become an important part of developing peace efforts. We note, in that regard, the positive comments about the visit by President Peres and Israeli Minister of Justice and chief negotiator Tzipi Livni. We encourage the Israeli Government to respond to that opening for a revitalized Arab Peace Initiative.

The Secretary-General has also remained in close contact with the parties on the issues. In recent conversations with the two leaders, he strongly encouraged the ongoing efforts towards the resumption of Israeli-Palestinian peace talks, and expressed his hope that they would soon lead to a substantial peace initiative with a defined political horizon. He further stressed the importance for the parties of creating the conditions conducive to a resumption of meaningful negotiations and avoid actions that would risk undermining such prospects.

The risk to both sides is clear. As we have said before, it is crucial that both sides reverse negative trends on the ground to restore confidence in each other and in the possibility of a solution. We take note that both parties are exercising some restraint and care not to upset the fragile situation on the ground in order to support the ongoing diplomatic effort. On the Israeli side, we have noted that there have been no new approvals or tenders issued for settlements in the West Bank or in East Jerusalem since March. However, there was a disconcerting exception, involving approximately 300 units preapproved in Beit El — a settlement deep inside the West Bank — based on a decision from last year. Settlements are illegal under international law, and Israel must abide by its commitments under the road map to freeze all settlement activity and dismantle outposts erected after 2001. We are also concerned about reports that the Israeli Government intends to legalize four West Bank settlement outposts.

Palestinians have shown countenance in diplomatic forums, and Palestinian security forces have maintained their robust performance in maintaining law and order, including in dealing with tensions on the ground. Several moments of friction illustrate the importance of both sides continuing to work responsibly to defuse tensions and avoid escalation.

Recent tensions around the sensitive issue of Jerusalem, particularly when it came to restrictions

of access to holy sites, were troubling.Clashes occurred on 7 and 8 May in and around the Old City in East Jerusalem, in the context of what Israelis call "Jerusalem Day". Restrictions on access for Palestinians were imposed in connection to visits in the esplanade of the Haram Al-Sharif/Tempie Mount — by right-wing Israeli activists. That was coupled with the temporary detention of the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem for interrogation owing to reported incitement. While his detention was short, the incident added to existing friction and drew wide criticism from Palestinian, Arab and Muslim leaders. It also led to an emergency meeting of the League of Arab States in Cairo on 12 May.

Notwithstanding the increased tensions, events on the ground were relatively contained, and authorities acted with restraint. Clashes resulted in 15 Palestinian being lightly injured and 23 arrested, as well as one Israeli being injured and 13 arrested. Preceding those events, on 4 May, during Orthodox Easter, an 85-year-old Coptic Egyptian cleric and two Egyptian diplomats were held by Israeli police in the Old City while they were on their way to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Following the incident, Israel reportedly apologized to Egypt via diplomatic channels for the excessive use of force.

The Secretary-General has reiterated the importance of respect for the religious freedom of all and for worshippers of all faiths to have access to their holy sites, while noting that religious and other leaders should also refrain from inflammatory statements. We also note the statement by President Peres on 8 May that Israel, as per its agreement with the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, will work to ensure the protection of the Muslim and Christian holy sites in the Old City and the safety of the worshippers. Those events once again underscore the importance of addressing the underlying issues regarding Jerusalem, which are still unresolved. It remains the view of the Secretary-General that Jerusalem — a final status issue — should emerge through negotiations as the capital of two States living side by side in peace and security, with arrangements for the holy sites that are acceptable to all.

On 15 May, Palestinians marked what they call "Al-Nakba Day" —to commemorate the 1948 events leading to their displacement — by holding large marches and festivals in urban centres across the West Bank and Gaza. In East Jerusalem, dozens of Israeli right wing extremists entered the Haram Al-Sharif/Temple Mount and clashed with Palestinians, resulting in some injuries and arrests. Overall events were relatively contained, with clashes between Palestinian protesters and Israeli forces resulting in some 50 Palestinians and six Israeli security officers being lightly injured.

Clashes between Palestinians and settlers in the occupied West Bank intensified during the reporting period. In a deplorable event, one settler was stabbed to death by a Palestinian on 30 April at the Tapuach junction, in the northern West Bank. He was the first Israeli to be killed by Palestinians in the West Bank since September 2011. The killing triggered numerous incidents of settler violence against Palestinians and their property, primarily in the Nablus governorate. Overall during the reporting period, a total of 46 Palestinians, including 12 children and one woman, were injured by settlers, while 11 settlers were injured by Palestinians. Clashes between Palestinians and settlers also resulted in extensive material damage, including to vehicles and Palestinian orchards, with some 1,400 Palestinian trees vandalized.

Israeli security forces carried out a total of 368 search-and-arrest operations in the occupied West Bank, including in Area A, resulting in 439 Palestinians being injured and 454 Palestinians being arrested. Eighteen members of Israel security forces were also injured. The large majority of the casualties resulted from clashes during Palestinian demonstrations, including against the barrier, which deviates from the Green Line in contravention of the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice (see A/ES-10/273).

The reporting period also witnessed continued demolitions of Palestinian homes and property in Area C and East Jerusalem. In total, 57 structures were demolished, leading to the displacement of 75 Palestinians, including 41 children. The ongoing demolition of homes, livelihood-related structures and essential infrastructure is of serious humanitarian concern and should stop.

The United Nations continues to monitor with concern the condition of Palestinian prisoners. Despite the release of two hunger strikers, four other Palestinians restarted their hunger strikes. Five Jordanian prisoners in Israeli jails are also reportedly on hunger strike. On 14 May, Israel renewed the administrative detention of four Palestinian Legislative Council members for another six months. We reiterate our position that the use of administrative detention must be on an exceptional basis only. Those detained must be charged

and face trial with judicial guarantees, or be released without delay. The most recent visit by families of Gaza prisoners took place on 20 May and included some 80 relatives, among them children.

Six months ago yesterday, the parties agreed to a ceasefire understanding in the Gaza Strip, which makes today a good opportunity to take stock and look ahead. The understanding brought about marked improvement during the first three months of its implementation. No rockets from Gaza landed in Israel, and there was some relaxation of remaining closures, notably the extension of the fishing limit from three to six nautical miles. However, three months of hopeful trends were followed by a reversal, as subsequent developments have threatened the improvements made. According to Israeli authorities, 33 rockets and five mortar shells landed in Israel from Gaza during the past three months. Eleven Palestinian civilians were injured in the buffer zone over the same period.

On 30 April, for the first time since 21 November 2012, an Israeli air strike killed a Palestinian, who was a militant allegedly involved in firing rockets. Starting on 21 March, the fishing limit was scaled back to three nautical miles, leading to shooting in the vicinity and arrests of Palestinian fishermen trying to go beyond the limit. Since 27 February, Kerem Shalom, the only functioning crossing for goods from Israel into Gaza, has periodically been closed for 13 days in response to rockets, resulting in shortages of some basic food stuffs and cooking gas and in losses in export cash crops.

In our view, the ceasefire understanding reached in November 2012 continues to represent the best opportunity to start changing the negative dynamics in Gaza. All must exert maximal effort to preserve the ceasefire and its basic tenets, namely, adhering to full calm and lifting the remaining closure on Gaza. We continue to support Egyptian efforts in that regard. Following the worrisome developments to which I have referred, uneasy calm has returned. Yesterday's announcement by Israeli authorities that the fishing limit had been re-extended to six nautical miles is an encouraging step.

Among the many long-term challenges facing the people of Gaza, as identified by the United Nations in our 2012 report *Gaza 2020: a liveable place?*, the lack of safe drinking water and the decline of the aquifer are perhaps the most pressing. Desalination will be necessary to improve the situation. The United Nations, with funding from Japan, has installed a desalination plant with a capacity of 50 cubic metres per hour — the thirteenth desalination plant installed by the United Nations in Gaza. That example illustrates how United Nations programming in Gaza continues apace and makes a difference.

The first phase of United Nations reconstruction projects totals approximately $450 million worth of projects approved by the Government of Israel. The United Nations continues to work in concert with other members of the international community to scale up reconstruction efforts while also pursuing the policy changes that will be required if a sustainable Gazan economy is to be re-established. We also continue to call on Israel to permit the unrestricted entry of construction material into Gaza, particularly aggregate, iron bar and cement. Restrictions on trade should also be lifted, including transfers to and from the West Bank and imports from and exports to Israel and other countries.

In a separate development, we welcome the release today of the seven Egyptian servicemen captured in the Sinai, as well as the subsequent reopening of the Rafah crossing.

On 14 May, Fatah and Hamas delegations met in Cairo to make progress on the implementation of existing reconciliation agreements. The factions reportedly recommitted to consultations on the formation of a national consensus Government, headed by President Abbas, as laid down in previous agreements. Those consultations should start within a month and lead to a Government in the next three months, after which elections, including those for the Palestinian National Council, are to take place within another 90 days. On 16 May, President Abbas visited Cairo, where he met with President Morsi to discuss Palestinian reconciliation as well as the Middle East peace process.

The Secretary-General remains deeply alarmed about the escalating violence in Syria. The humanitarian crisis continues to worsen, with every third Syrian now in need of urgent assistance. One in four have been uprooted from their homes. Syria's neighbours, as generous and hospitable as ever, are reaching their limits, now hosting more than 1.5 million registered refugees. While we recognize the impact on host countries, we stress the importance of keeping borders open for refugees fleeing violence, consistent with

international humanitarian obligations. Communities in Syria, including the Palestinian refugee population, who are among the most vulnerable, are under immense stress.

Despite the best efforts of the staff of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) to keep schools and health clinics open, often at great personal risk, half of Syria's Palestinian refugees registered with UNRWA are now internally displaced. Some have fled to neighbouring countries, an estimated 54,000 to Lebanon in particular. UNRWA's emergency operation has reached many, but much more needs to be done. It is the responsibility of the warring parties to ensure the protection of the civilian population.

Amid that growing tragedy and spreading chaos, United Nations priorities are clear. We will continue to ensure that the millions of Syrians in need receive life-saving help. The Secretary-General is grateful to the donor community for its generosity, and we urge it to do even more. Humanitarian workers also need access; we must think of better and more practical ways to deliver assistance. However, humanitarian relief is not a long-term answer. That is why the Secretary-General welcomed the initiative of the United States and the Russian Federation to bring the Syrian parties to the negotiating table, and is fully devoted to helping Syrians find a political solution. The weeks ahead will be critical, and we urge everyone to cooperate.

Finally, the Secretary-General also remains gravely concerned about the allegations of the use of chemical weapons. The mission he established to investigate the claims has been doing what it can to gather and analyse the available information. Amid mounting reports on the use of chemical weapons, we once again urge the Government of Syria to allow the investigation to proceed without further delay.

Lebanon is increasingly under pressure. The war in Syria, including the unprecedented refugee crisis, is putting a growing strain on its economy, political dynamics and security. The humanitarian emergency, and its long-term implications, as well as the continuing political deadlock, require close international attention and support. The past month has seen repeated incidents of shelling from Syria into Lebanese territory that have caused casualties. On 19 May, as many as eight rockets were fired from Syria in the town of Al-Hermel, prompting President Sleiman to once more call on the parties in Syria to respect Lebanon's sovereignty and avoid military acts against Lebanese border areas. A new incursion by Syrian forces into Lebanese territory was reported around Ras Baalbek. There has also been an increasing focus on Lebanese fighters' involvement in Syria, notably from Hizbullah, in the battle between the Syrian Government and opposition forces in the town of Al-Qusayr.

President Sleiman had earlier called on all Lebanese to abide by the policy of disassociation and the Baabda declaration. The Secretary-General strongly supports President Sleiman's leadership and reiterates his call to all Lebanese to act responsibly and refrain from involvement in the conflict in Syria. Following the fighting in Al-Qusayr, violence broke out on 19 May between Sunni and Alawite neighbourhoods in Tripoli and spread to other areas of the town. At least nine people are reported to have been killed, including two members of the Lebanese security forces; more than 70 were injured. The Lebanese army has been deployed to contain the fighting.

Given the scale of the challenges facing Lebanon, it is vital that a new Government be agreed on without delay. We encourage all parties to continue to engage positively with Prime Minister-designate Salam in order to reach early agreement, which is also essential to ensure timely parliamentary elections. The consideration of arrangements for the elections due next month resumed in Parliament on 15 May. The temporary suspension of the current electoral law expired on 19 May. Now is the time to intensify efforts to agree to a way forward and avoid an institutional vacuum.

The situation in the area of operations of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon and along the Blue Line remained quiet. However, tensions were markedly increased by air strikes around Damascus on 3 and 5 May and Israeli violations of Lebanese airspace in that period. On 5 May, Lebanon lodged a complaint with the Security Council about intensified incursions by the Israeli Air Force.

On 9 May, Hizbullah, which had denied responsibility for a drone that was shot down on 25 April by the Israeli Air Force over Israeli waters, announced its readiness to receive new weaponry from Syria. It also offered support for opening a new front on the Syrian Golan, occupied by Israel since 1967. The Secretary-General has remained actively engaged

with international and regional leaders in calling on all parties to exercise maximum restraint and prevent escalation, respect the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries in the region and adhere to all the relevant Security Council resolutions.

In conclusion, the events set out in this month's briefing again attest to the mounting risks posed to regional stability. It is imperative that everyone work collectively to avert those risks, preserve stability and help to lay peaceful foundations for a better future in the Middle East, to which so many of its peoples aspire. Since the efforts being made to develop a meaningful initiative aimed at achieving a negotiated two-State solution are likely to reach a critical point in the next few weeks, we sincerely hope that this time the leaders on both sides will demonstrate their commitment and realize that this is a moment of opportunity they cannot afford to lose. That also applies to regional stakeholders, who can play an important role in achieving peace through a revitalized Arab Peace Initiative. Let me affirm that the United Nations stands ready to contribute to a return to meaningful negotiations in the period ahead, including through the Quartet and broader engagement with all parties.

The President (*spoke in French*): I thank Mr. Serry for his briefing.

I now invite Council members to informal consultations to continue our discussion on the subject.

The meeting rose at 10.40 a.m.

United Nations S/PV.6970

Security Council

Sixty-eighth year

Provisional

6970th meeting
Wednesday, 29 May 2013, 10 a.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Menan	(Togo)
Members:	Argentina	Ms. Millicay
	Australia	Ms. King
	Azerbaijan	Mr. Mehdiyev
	China	Mr. Li Baodong
	France	Mr. Briens
	Guatemala	Mr. Rosenthal
	Luxembourg	Ms. Lucas
	Morocco	Mr. Bouchaara
	Pakistan	Mr. Tarar
	Republic of Korea	Mr. Sul Kyung-hoon
	Russian Federation	Mr. Pankin
	Rwanda	Mr. Nduhungirehe
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Parham
	United States of America	Ms. Rice

Agenda

Reports of the Secretary-General on the Sudan

Report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Abyei (S/2013/294)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room U-506.

13-34859 (E)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.10 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Reports of the Secretary-General on the Sudan

Report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Abyei (S/2013/294)

The President (*spoke in French*): Under rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite the representatives of South Sudan and the Sudan to participate in this meeting.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2013/318, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by the Republic of Korea, Rwanda, Togo, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America.

I wish to draw the attention of Council members to document S/2013/294, which contains the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Abyei.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Azerbaijan, Australia, China, France, Guatemala, Luxembourg, Morocco, Pakistan, Republic of Korea, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Togo, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President (*spoke in French*): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 2104 (2013).

I now give the floor to the representative of South Sudan.

Mr. Khoc (South Sudan): I thank you very much, Mr. President, for inviting me to participate in this meeting. Given that this is the first time that my delegation is addressing the Security Council during your presidency, let me begin by congratulating you on your successful leadership and extending my best wishes to you as you conclude your work in the coming days. In the same vein, I reiterate South Sudan's commitment to cooperating with the Security Council.

The Republic of South Sudan reiterates its appreciation to the Security Council and the Secretary-General for their continued attention to the issue of Abyei. South Sudan also expresses its deep appreciation to the United Nations Interim Security Force for Abyei (UNISFA) for its unwavering commitment to protecting civilians and to the Government of Ethiopia for its troops' contribution to that important Mission, which supports peace and security in our region. These complementary efforts, including the invaluable contributions of the African Union through its High-level Implementation Panel, provide momentum for a resolution of the final status of Abyei, which is an essential ingredient of lasting peace between the two neighbouring States.

South Sudan welcomes the increase in UNISFA's troop ceiling to allow more troops to be deployed to support the Joint Border Verification and Monitoring Mechanism, which is being implemented by the Sudan and South Sudan and which will greatly support stability in the border areas between the two States.

I recall that in May 2012 the Council stipulated that the parties must, under threat of sanctions, reach a final agreement on all outstanding issues, including the final status of Abyei, within three months. Regrettably, that deadline was not respected. Nonetheless, the African Union High-level Implementation Panel submitted a proposal on the final status of Abyei, on 21 September 2012, which was characterized by the African Heads of State and Government, in January, as a fair, equitable and workable solution to the dispute. In my Government's view, it stands as the only viable solution for lasting peace, as it takes into consideration the historical context in Abyei, while adequately reflecting the challenges of implementing a referendum, which was, of course, agreed by the parties in the Comprehensive Peace Agreement of 2005. We regret that the Sudan continues to reject the proposal of the African Union High-level Implementation Panel, despite its being a proposal that both Heads of State had mandated the Panel to develop.

As highlighted in the Secretary-General's latest report on the situation in Abyei (S/2013/294), there have been reports of armed Misseriya attacking the Ngok Dinka of Abyei, killing people, looting cattle and burning villages. To that end, the Government of South

Sudan commends the Security Council for reviewing and re-emphasizing that the protection of civilians mandate has broader implications in the case of Abyei, given the historical context of conflict between the Sudan and South Sudan. We join the Security Council in commending the efforts of UNISFA in its ongoing facilitation of the peaceful migration of the Misseriya through Abyei.

The unfortunate assassination of the Ngok Dinka Paramount Chief, Mr. Deng Kuol Deng, and the killing of a UNISFA peacekeeper on 4 May have brought much grief to the Ngok Dinka and the Ethiopian people. We welcome the Republic of the Sudan's commitment to a transparent, comprehensive and just investigation to hold all those involved in that incident to account. There must be justice and those responsible must be punished. However, given the historical challenges between the Sudan and South Sudan, we call for an international investigation to ensure the credibility and transparency of that process. That unfortunate incident is viewed neither by the Ngok Dinka nor the Government of South Sudan in isolation, but as the culmination of a trend that must be stopped. It is hoped that this tragedy will provide the necessary impetus for the parties to end the territorial dispute through the agreed mechanisms.

I note that my Government has called for peace and calm among the Ngok Dinka in Abyei during this difficult time. The skirmishes that took place are a reflection of the frustration that the Ngok Dinka are experiencing over the status of their homeland. To that end, the Government of South Sudan commits to redoubling its efforts to ensure that an Abyei administration and police service are constituted. We further welcome the continued call of the Council that the 20 June 2011 Agreement between the Government of the Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement on Temporary Arrangements for the Administration and Security of the Abyei Area (S/2011/384, annex) and the decision of the Abyei Joint Oversight Committee of 3 May be implemented to ensure that Abyei is a weapon-free area and the demand that Sudan withdraw its oil police from Diffra. We see those efforts as necessary to the establishment of an environment conducive to the impending Abyei referendum.

The Government of South Sudan reiterates nonetheless that establishing temporary institutions in Abyei will not create lasting peace and that their establishment cannot be viewed as an end in itself. The Sudan must also not be allowed to continue moving the goalposts by changing the criteria for how the temporary institutions are to be established. It must also be prohibited from creating further facts and situations on the ground by resettling and arming the Misseriya to the north of Abyei. If the referendum ultimately results in Abyei becoming part of South Sudan, the Misseriya will be welcome to graze and water their cattle in Abyei and beyond, as they have done for many generations, provided that they come in peace and unarmed.

The Government of South Sudan has shown support and appreciation to UNISFA through its assistance in making Gok Machar the UNISFA base on its territory. The Government will do its utmost to continue to support UNISFA's important work.

Last but not least, South Sudan further recommits itself to the promotion of peace and stability across our region. We reiterate our appreciation to the Security Council for renewing the UNISFA mandate and wish the Mission fruitful engagement as it works to consolidate peace and stability in Abyei.

The President: I now give the floor to the representative of the Sudan.

Mr. Osman (Sudan) (*spoke in Arabic*): I would like to thank you, Sir, for giving me this opportunity to address the Security Council on the occasion of the renewal of the mandate of the United Nations Interim Security Force for Abyei (UNISFA).

As Council members know well, the Comprehensive Peace Agreement between the Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM), as it was at the time, which later went on to form the Republic of South Sudan, addressed the question of Abyei through the Abyei Protocol. All members know that the Protocol stipulates clearly and frankly that Abyei still constitutes an integral part of the territory of the Sudan and that its residents are Sudanese citizens. There are two groups in the Area, the Ngok Dinka and the Misseriya, whose members are Sudaenese citizens. We have a keen interest in their safety. Until an agreement on the final status of Abyei is concluded, the two groups remain Sudanese and we will treat both of them equally as such. We do not differentiate between them and remain responsible for their protection until a final status is decided upon.

I welcome the Council's agreement to extend the mandate of UNISFA for another six months. I also welcome the increase in UNISFA troops by 1,126 to

enable the Force to monitor the Safe Demilitarized Border Zone that has been established. We hope that UNISFA will monitor it and prevent the infiltration of any rebel elements from South Sudan and the channelling or transfer of any arms from the South. Such an incident took place one month ago and there remain a great many doubts with regard to the infiltration of such elements and weaponry from the South.

In the light of that, given our keen interest in maintaining excellent and amicable relations with South Sudan, our Minister for Foreign Affairs and the head of the security services were dispatched to convey to the Government of South Sudan our numerous concerns regarding the continued infiltration of rebels into Southern Kordofan from South Sudan.

We hope consultations will continue between our two States on that matter so that we may find solutions to all of those concerns.

With regard to the incident in Abyei that led to the assassination of the Chief of the Ngok Dinka, as well as a number of members of the Misseriya tribe, we have condemned that incident and insisted that it be investigated and the perpetrators tried.

Agreements made between States must in general be respected. When that is not the case and one party fails to respect an agreement, the other party is entitled to reconsider and review that agreement, in accordance with the commitment shown by the first party. We would like to send a clear message in that regard. Given our keenness to complete the normalization of our relations with South Sudan in a manner that serves the interests of our peoples, we would like to state that the State of South Sudan has to respect the agreements it signed, in particular with regard to security measures to prevent the sheltering, furthering or assisting of rebels through any channel. If those commitments are not respected, the Sudan is entitled to review the pertinent agreements accordingly. However, I would like to emphasize our resolve, desire and determination to maintain excellent bilateral relations with South Sudan.

With regard to the final status of Abyei, all members of the Council are well aware that the Abyei Protocol was signed by both parties, leading to the enactment of the law on the referendum on Abyei. No party can nullify that law. It was the SPLM that participated in reaching that agreement at the time. The SPLM was represented in the Sudanese Parliament before the secession of South Sudan. That law must be respected. Any subsequent procedure or proposal adopted by the high-level mechanism that may run counter to that law or the agreements concluded between the two parties would be illogical and unacceptable.

Lastly, the Sudan will continue to cooperate with the Council to seek acceptable and satisfactory solutions conducive to the achievement of peace and security in the Sudan, between the Sudan and South Sudan and in the entire region.

In conclusion, I welcome the resolution just adopted, which, like previous resolutions, reiterates that the territorial boundaries of States shall not be altered by force, and that any territorial disputes shall be settled exclusively by peaceful means. We commend the resolution's emphasis on that point. I reiterate that there are well-known mechanisms in international law for resolving territorial disputes between States. The Security Council must rise above the work of tribunals, as it is not a tribunal. There are well-known international legal processes that could help to settle the final status of Abyei in a manner that ensures peace and safety in the region. This is the main responsibility of the Security Council.

The President (*spoke in French*): There are no more names inscribed on the list of speakers. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 10.35 a.m.